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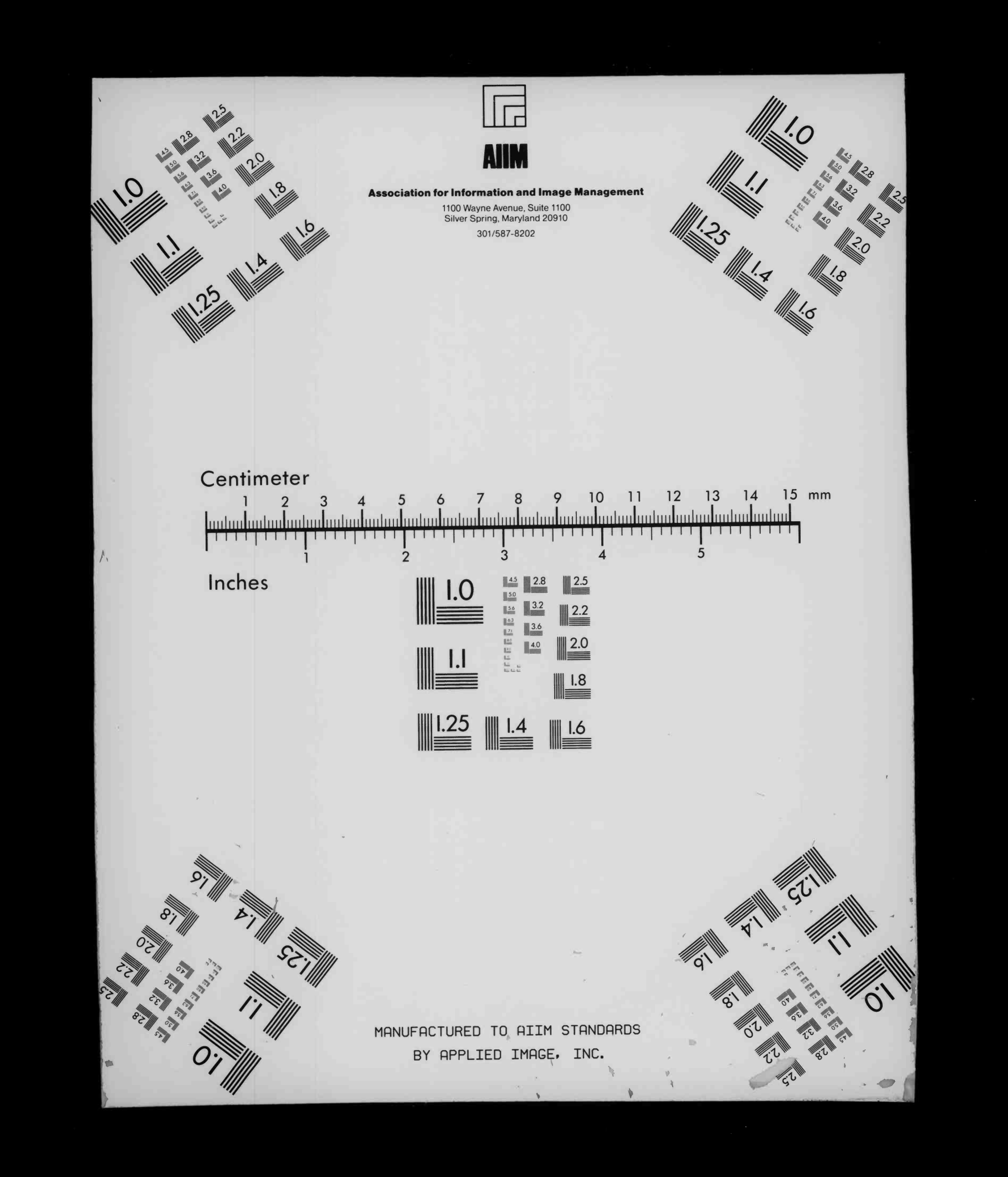
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The Collocation of the Adverb of Degree in Roman Comedy and Cato

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY
OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF ARTS AND LITERATURE
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

(DEPARTMENT OF LATIN LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE)

BY

BERTHA ELLIS BOOTH

Private Edition, Distributed by
THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO LIBRARIES
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
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Preface

The following paper formed part of a dissertation submitted to the faculty of the University of Chicago in March 1915 for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. As originally written, the scope of the work covered the extent to which adverbs of degree are separated from the modified word and the nature of the separating elements. For economical reasons, however, only that portion of the discussion is printed which deals with the question whether the adverb precedes or follows the modified word. The investigation logically falls into two parts: the analysis, which presents a study of the behavior of each individual adverb, and the synthesis, which attempts to build up from the previous analysis some broad principles that affect the word-order of adverbs.

Citations from Plautus are taken from the editio minor of Götz-Schöll; those from Terence from Dziatzko's edition (1884); those from the fragments of Latin comedy are taken from Ribbeck *Com. Rom. Frag.*[3] (1898). Citations from Cato are taken from *De Agri Cultura* Keil (1884), *Frag.* Jordan (1860). The collection for Plautus has been based on Allardice and Junks *An Index of the Adverbs of Plautus* (Oxford 1913), also Lodge *Lexicon Plautinum* (Leipzig 1901—); for Terence on Junks *An Index of the Adverbs of Terence* (Oxford 1915).

I wish here to express my gratitude to the late Professor C. E. Bennett of Cornell University, to Professor R. S. Radford of the University of Tennessee, and to the several instructors of the University of Chicago for their active interest in this work. Especially I am indebted to Professor H. W. Prescott, who suggested the subject of this thesis, whose help and criticisms at every stage of the investigation have been generously given and gratefully received. He is not responsible, however, for the arrangement or the interpretation of the material.

Bertha Ellis Booth

Hamilton, Mo.
March 1, 1923.

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Introduction

The adverb of degree seems to be closely linked, in the sequence of thought, to the word that it modifies. It should be of some interest therefore to consider whether in the development of the Latin language this juxtaposition in thought is visibly indicated in the sentence order, whether at different stages the separability varies in respect to the amount and kind of the intervening words, and to what causes the variability is due. Obviously, no vital conclusion can be reached without a full study of the whole range of Latin, but the immediate task is to note the conditions in the earliest period of the language; in this early period, the colloquial language of comedy and the relatively artless prose of Cato offer a convenient starting-point. In any such limited study, one must be content to note the facts and the accompanying phenomena; these phenomena may often suggest explanations of the facts, but explanations are necessarily tentative as long as the study is confined to a small field.

A study of Latin collocation is not easily pursued without a full knowledge of the corresponding facts in Sanskrit, Greek, Italic dialects, not to mention other branches of the Indo-European stock. Many inherited features of collocation remain to be discovered. It is also true that many subsidiary facts are probably still unknown; the doctrine of enclisis is an important factor in determining collocation, but enclitic words are not all recognized as such. The observer must be content to differentiate the like from the unlike and cautiously determine the norm, and suggest explanations of divergence from the norm.

The general opinion seems to be that even in early Latin the position of the adverb is free. Whether this freedom characterized the original adverbial position in I.E. is a matter of conjecture. Certain evidence seems to point to an original precedence of some adverbs with the verb: see Radford *AJP* XXV 260 for the well-established accentuation of pyrrhic and monosyllabic adverbs prefixed to verb-forms, also Hirt *Indo. Akg.* 171. However, such stable verbal prefixes are comparatively few; the varying position of adverbs before and after verbs is mentioned by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (Jacobs ed. Περὶ Συνθέσεως Ὀνομάτων V 35 ff.); Leo *Nach. d. gött. Ges.* (1895) 428 says, "Eine sehr lose Verbindung geht das Adverbium mit dem Verbum, eine minder lose mit dem Nomen

oder Adverbium ein;" Radford *op. cit.* 261 says, "Owing to the free position which belongs to the adverb in the sentence, all adverbial combinations show a variable accent," and adds in a note, "The adverb, being loosely connected with the verb which it modifies, freely varies in position"; while C. Trowbridge *Cl. Journal* II (1907) 158, following Sweet, speaks of adverbial order as the last remains of normal free order in English.

Many scholars in calling attention to this freedom in adverbial order connect its precedence or postponement[1] with a variation in the degree of emphasis of the adverb: Reisig *Lat. Spr. Wissensch.*[2] III 814 says that adverbs usually stand before the modified predicate but may stand at the end of the clause to show a more forcible connection of adverb and predicate; Heinichen *Lat. Stil.* 193–6 says that when the adverb follows the modified word, it is so placed either for emphasis or to limit or explain, having special emphasis when placed at the end of the clause. Jahn *Jahrb. f. Phil.* (1845) 50, Bennett, Kelsey, Towle-Jenks editions *Caes. B. G.* on 1:40 confidebat maxime, Schneider *De verbi in ling. Lat. colloc.* (Monast. Guestf. 1912) 75, 77 hold the theory that the postponement of the adverb implies emphasis; Schneider adds that unusually emphatic adverbs may stand near the beginning of the clause unless that place is already given to another more emphatic word. Hale in Hale-Buck *Lat. Gram.* (1903) ¶624:13 says that adverbs normally stand just before the word they modify, but gives *fere, ferme, paene, prope* as exceptions that generally follow; according to his general theory of word-order, the reversing of its normal arrangement indicates that special emphasis is given an adverb. Koene *Ueber die Wortstellung in der lat. Spr.* (Münster 1831) 60, Kühnast *Livianischen Synt.* (Berlin 1872) 316, on the contrary, explain the postponement of an adverb by the exceptional emphasis given the modified word. Raspe *Die Wortstellung der lat. Spr.* (Leipzig 1844) 5, 41 does not mention emphasis, but says that the adverb takes the place where it can best elucidate the rest of the sentence, adding that adverbs which limit commonly follow the modified word without separation, adverbs which explain commonly precede, but may follow the modified word or may stand at the beginning of the clause. Gildersleeve-Lodge *Lat. Gram.*[3]

[1] The term postponement will be used throughout this study in the sense of "position after" whether immediately after or separated by intervening words.

(1894) 431 say that adverbs are commonly put next to their verbs, preceding them when they end a sentence, and immediately before their adjective or adverb, adding that *fere, paene, prope* usually follow. Burton *Lat. Gram.* (1911) 308 says that the position of words in the middle of the clause was not so definitely established as that of subject and verb, and could be shifted without great change of emphasis, the arrangement of such words often being explained as a matter of rhythm rather than of emphasis. While he does not specifically mention adverbs, yet his language might well apply to these words, since their position is usually in the middle of the clause.

The above statements show the general rules and divergent explanations which scholars give for the position of the adverb. Such broad generalizations, however, are of little service, since different classes of adverbs may differ in behavior. The adverb of degree, for instance, may be in a closer relation to the modified word than the adverbs of time, place, manner. Even adverbs of degree may differ one from another. Quasi-conjunctional force may draw the adverb farther from the modified word than is usually allowed. In any case, it is desirable that phenomena should be carefully interpreted with due consideration of the internal differences of meaning and of contributing factors, such as enclisis, meter in poetry, and various elements of style. Apparent freedom may prove to be only carefully regulated usage, yielding on occasion to the special demands of laws inherited from the mother speech or of internal peculiarities or of external environment. Then, too, it is of interest to consider whether the prevailing precedence is to be always explained as due to a normal adherescence of the adverb to the modified word or whether it may be connected with an attraction of the adverb toward the beginning of the clause arising from its enclitic nature.

The material in Cato and in early comedy makes possible a contrast between prose and poetry; Cato's prose, whatever the Romans may have gained at an early time from contact with Sicily, the home of rhetoric, is at least free from the rhetorical elements that mark the artificial prose after Greek influence has become paramount; comedy, though an artificial poetic form, is less elaborated than tragedy or epic, and likely to approximate contemporary speech. In these two sources, therefore, we are likely to get as near as is possible in the early period to the simple usage of the spoken language. Such departures from Cato's usage as comedy exhibits, if attended by

features peculiar to the literary type, are most naturally explained on such grounds; nor is it an unprofitable task in itself to note the compelling force of poetic form on collocation; it is always conceivable that the early development of poetry may have exerted a potent influence on artificial prose, which developed later than poetry; in this late artificial prose, however, rhetorical influence may be quite as potent as that of poetry.

In the main, probably, the limits of my topic will restrict the results to an appreciation of the usage of comedy; such broader conclusions as I may suggest are tentative, until the whole field of early Latin is properly covered, and preliminary studies in Sanskrit and other I. E. languages are accomplished. Nor can the adverb of degree be successfully treated without considering, by way of comparison, other kinds of adverbs which our present intensive study necessarily eliminates.

ANALYSIS

CHAPTER I

THE POSITION IN CATO OF THE ADVERB OF DEGREE

The influence of poetical structure and style on the position of adverbs of degree is best understood by a preliminary study of adverbial usage in early prose, since here neither stylistic nor metrical considerations should greatly disturb the regular sequence. The material in Cato, while small, will be seen to present a striking parallelism to that in comedy; certain forces leading to postponement are found to be active in both prose and poetry, even an occasional stylistic device and rhythm of clause or clausula, whether it be conscious or semi-conscious, appearing as possible factors in word-order.[1]

The following is a summary of the precedences and postponements of the adverb of degree in Cato:

Aliquantum follows in its one occurrence *Agr. Cult.*[2] 40:2 īnclīnātō[3] ălĭquāntŭm, ut aqua defluat, where the postponed adverb

[1] Of course it is doubtful whether Cato was enough of an aesthete to have any very definite theories of style or conscious rhythm, as Cicero pointed out, *Brut.* 17:35; but we can at least credit him with a literary sense of sufficient discrimination to recognize that words grouped in one way sounded better than when grouped in another. Norden (*Die antike Kunstprosa*[2] [Leipzig 1909] I 156 ff.) has already shown that the term "rhythmical prose" can rightly be applied to certain passages in the earliest Latin prose containing ritualistic formulae, such as the prayer in *Agr. Cult.* 41. See Walker *Cl. Journal* XIII (1918) 646 for suggestion of rhythmical clausulae as factors in Latin word-order in general.

[2] Throughout this chapter, the Catonian references are to *Agr. Cult.* unless otherwise stated.

[3] The fact that in the postponements of adverbs in Cato, a large proportion of the modified words are imperatives, may arouse a question as to the possible connection of the imperative mode with adverbial postponement. Schneider *op. cit.* 47-8, Raspe *op. cit.* 56 say that the usual position of the imperative is at the beginning of the clause, because of the modal idea expressed, unless it yields this precedence to a more important word; but in Cato's usage, at least, it would appear that the inherent force of the modal idea has little connection with the postponement of adverbs modifying such verb-forms; note the variation in the following examples in the position of *bene* when modifying imperatives: 38 bene struito, 40 una bene condepsito, 76 bene conmisceto cum caseo, 95 bene facito, 151 cum stercore bene permisceto; but 75 una permisceto bene, 75 permiscetoque cum caseo bene, 76 calfacito bene, 85 una permisceto bene, 87 misceto bene etc. It hardly seems possible to prove that the varying position of *bene* in these examples denotes its varying degree of importance in the clause.

forms a part of the heroic couplet —′˘ ˘,—′ ˘ preceded by a spondee; cf. Cic. *de Amic.* 77 sūscēptāe vĭdĕāntŭr, given by Blum *Comp. numer. dial. Cic. de Amic.* (1913) 22 as an example of this type of clausula.

Multum precedes in 4 examples, once with separation.

Paulum precedes in its one occurrence 48:2.

Prorsus precedes in 2 examples.

Tantum precedes in 2 examples.

Omnino precedes in 2 examples, 37 omnino caveto, 162 post dies omnino xii.

Admodum[4] follows in its one occurrence 156:2 demīttĭto ādmŏdūm dum quinque numeres, the clause ending in the rhythmical group —′ ˘ —′ ˘ ×̆, cf. *de Amic.* 96 dicām lŭbēntĭŭs.

Paululum precedes in its one occurrence 103.

Quam minumum precedes in 2 examples, follows once 156:6 bibāt quām mĭnŭmŭm with the rhythmical ending — — ˘ ˘ ˘, cf. *de Amic.* 73 Luciūm nōn pŏtŭĭt.

Quam plurumum precedes in 3 examples, follows once 129:1 amurca bene conspargatur et conbibāt quām plūrŭmŭm with a chiastic[5] grouping of adverbs and verbs in successive clauses. With the rhythmic ending — — —′ ˘ ˘, cf. *Orat.* 40:6 dīssērtem āmplĭŭs (p. 4), *de Amic.* 72 inferiorēs ēxtōllĕrĕ.

Nimis precedes in 3 examples.

Parum precedes in 6 examples.

Satis precedes in 22 examples.

Nimium precedes in 8 examples, once with separation. It follows twice 113:2 amphoras nolito inplērĕ[6] nĭmĭŭm, the order resulting in a clausula composed of a resolved double trochaic foot (— ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘), cf. 23:4 additōquĕ părĭtĕr, *de Amic.* 54 habērĕ pŏtŭĭt for the same

[4] Keil with codd. here reads *ad modum*; Richardson *De dum part. ap. prisc. script. Lat.* (Leipzig 1884) 64 writes the phrase as one word.

[5] Other cases of artificiality in adverbial order resulting in chiastic groups are: 5 minus libebit ambulare et valebit rectius et dormibit libentius, 156 si voles in convivio multum bibere cenareque libenter, 100 prius conluito agitatoque diu, 61 ubi radices bene operueris, calcare bene, 90 puriter facito et coquito bene, 151 cum stercore bene permisceto—bene terram conminuito, etc.

[6] In *Agr. Cult.* the adverb precedes the infinitive 26 times, follows 8 (*bene* 2, *recte* 2, *paulisper* 2, *nimium, libenter*). In 156 possit porro libenter esse, the position of the adverb as the penultimate word in the clause followed by the enclitic-form is similar to the usage in comedy (see below p. 85).

clausula. It also follows 80:1 unguito coloratoque caldūm nē nĭmĭum, the order resulting in the rhythmical group — — ˘ ˘ ˘, cf. under *minumum;* for the juxtaposition of imperatives, see below n. 8. It is of course possible to conceive of *ne nimium* as a corrective afterthought added to the command, which would explain its position at the end of the clause quite simply. With the negatived adverb at the end of the clause, cf. 36 ablaqueato prius non alte. The group *ne nimium* precedes the modified word in its 3 other occurrences.

Aequabiliter with a quantitative ending similar to that of *nimium* follows in its one occurrence 103 et dato rarenter bibere||conmixtam cum aqua aequabiliter,[7] the whole sentence forming trochaic rhythm, the second colon with attendant alliteration. Moreover both clauses end in the rhythmical group —′— ˘ ˘ ˘, cf. 80:1 caldūm nē nĭmĭŭm, 96 conmiscētō părĭtĕr for like clausulae.

Pariter with the same quantitative form precedes in one example 23:2; follows in 3 examples—22 librator uti statuatur părĭtĕr āb lābrīs; with the rhythmical group ˘ ˘ ˘ — — —, cf. *de Amic.* 96 făcĭlĕ vīncēbāt; 23:4 dolio dividito additōquĕ părĭtĕr with a clausula composed of a resolved double trochaic foot, the postponement also resulting in quasi-chiasmus[8] and alliteration; 96 inter se omnia conmiscētō părĭtĕr with the rhythmical group —′ — ˘ ˘ ˘.

Maxume precedes in 8 examples (2 with separation), follows in 9. Eight of the postponements occur when *maxume* in a particularizing function follows a noun, pronoun, conjuntion or adverb: 6 miscellae maxume, 6 eam maxume, 6,28 id maxume, 29 quom maxume (twice), 155 tum maxume, *Orat.* 21 cum maxume (for the regularity of such groups in classical prose, see Menge *Lat. Synt. u. Styl.* 390). In 38

[7] When modifying a past participle, the position of the adverb in *Agr. Cult.* is as follows: 10 precede, 3 follow. When used with periphrastic forms, the adverb precedes the participle and auxiliary twice: 103 et curáti béne siént, 113 odorátum béne siét (cf. 107 bene odorata sint); follows the auxiliary 157:9 ubi cocta erit bene. In the position of *bene* in 103 and 113, are prose parallels for the occasional usage in comedy of the adverb as the penultimate word followed by the enclitic verb as the final word in the clause (see below p. 85).

[8] In not a few passages, there appears an artificial arrangement similar to that in 23:4 where verbs, especially the *to*-form of the imperative, are juxtaposed and the adverb is balanced by a dissimilar element: 23 bene conminuito, indito in fiscellam, 33 altissimam vineam facito alligatoque recte, 52 terra inpleto calcatoque bene, 76:3 manibus condepsito conminuitoque quam maxume. For examples of true chiasmus in Cato involving adverbs, see above p. 2 n.

inibi austrum caveto maxume, this relation of *maxume* and noun is equally felt, the adverb being separated from the noun and standing at the end of the clause; this postponement of *maxume* is the only instance in *Agr. Cult.* in which the superlative adverb unaccompanied by *quam* stands at the end of a clause; the order here produces the rhythmical group —′ — — ˘ —, a desirable metrical cadence at the end of a sentence (cf. below under *amplius*).

The composite group *quam maxume* precedes 30:1, follows 76 manibus condepsito conminuitōquĕ quām māxŭmē, with a double cretic foot at the end of the sentence, cf. *de Amic.* 71 commemorārĕ quī cōntŭlīt. The quasi-chiasmus and attendant alliteration are also to be noted.

Minime precedes in 7 examples, 2 with separation.

Ferme precedes a numeral in its one occurrence *Orig.* 1:29 inde est ferme mille passuum.

Plane follows in its one occurrence 101 vas quo condideris oblinito plane, where the whole sentence falls into a metrical scheme of almost pure pentameter.

Prope precedes in its one occurrence *ad M. F. Carm. de Mor.* 3.

Longe used as an adverb of degree precedes in its one occurrence *Orat.* 17:3 longe aliud est cupido.

Sane (quasi-quantitative) precedes in its one occurrence *Orig.* 5 sint sane superbi where *sane* may be concessive in force.

Amplius[9] precedes in 6 examples, once with separation; it follows once *Orat.* 40:6 quid ego cum illo dī̆ssērtem ā̆mplĭūs where the words of the prose clause fit the meter of the prevailing measure in comedy, and possibly the natural musical effect gained by the changed order of *amplius* tickled the ear of the orator as that of the dramatist (for the frequent postponement of *amplius*, see below p. 56). Clausulae of like metrical form (—′ — — ˘ ˘̲) are not uncommon in Cato; cf. under *plurumum* and *maxume*.

Magis precedes in 5 examples.

Minus precedes in 8 examples, 2 with separation; it follows in 2 examples from correlative attraction to *quam*: 69 dolium calfacito minus quam, 112 nolite inplere quadrantalibus quinque minus sit quam.

[9] In 57 occurrences of the comparative adverb in *Agr. Cult.*, there are 6 postponements: *amplius, minus* (2), *prius, rectius, libentius.*

Plus precedes in 9 examples, 2 with separation. The group paulo[10] plus occurs once.

Tam precedes in 14 examples, 2 with separation[11]; it occurs 5 times with superlatives.

Quam precedes in 52 examples, in 43 with superlatives.

Quamvis precedes in its one occurrence 1:6.

Quasi (used quasi-quantitatively) precedes in its one occurrence 156.

Quantum precedes in 4 examples, 3 times in the group quantum voles.

From the preceding summary, it is observed that the earliest prose exhibits a very close connection of the adverb of degree and the modified word, which it usually precedes, the ratio of precedences and postponements being 174:23 (12% postponements).[12] Of these post-

[10] In *Agr. Cult.* the ablative of degree invariably precedes the comparative adverb or adjective: 94 multo feraciores, 101 paulo acerbiora, 156:4 paulo plus, 157:6 paulo libentius, *Intro.* quanto peiorem, 144 tanto minus, also nihilo minus twice.

[11] In 65 quam acerbissima olea oleum facies, tam oleum optimum erit, while we might expect tam optimum to balance quam acerbissima, we have a collocation which seems to show some artificiality, the result of which is chiasmus (see above p. 2 n.)— adjective, noun, noun, adjective.

[12] Because of the small amount of material involved in the study of the adverb of degree in Cato, it may not be unprofitable to supplement the above results by a brief summary of the precedences and postponements of adverbs of all types in *Agr. Cult.* grouped according to their quantitative form (see also below p. 78).

	precede	follow	% postponed
cretic	14	12	42
tribrachic	17	11	39
spondaic	29	17	37
pyrrhic	175	57	24
dactylic	24	7	22
trochaic	37	6	14
molossic	5	1	16
antibacchiac	13	14	55
bacchiac	1	2	66
amphibrachic	4	2	33
iambic	4	1	20
monosyllabic	92	8	8
long words in — ˘ ˘̲	39	7	15
long words in ˘ ˘ ˘	6	1	14
long words in — ˘̲	7	5	41

Adverbs of 3 or more syllables ending in *iter* precede 7 times, follow 13; adverbs of 3 or more syllables ending in *enter* precede 8 times, follow 5.

ponements, 9 occur with *maxume* (8 in its particularizing function); 6 with tribrachic adverbs (*pariter* 3, *nimium* 2, *minumum* 1); 3 with dactylic adverbs (*amplius, admodum, plurumum*); 2 *minus* (attraction to *quam*), 1 each of *plane, aliquantum, aequabiliter*. The causes of postponement are very few and obvious, viz: the particularizing use of *maxume*, the attraction to the correlative word, stylistic artificiality, and a feeling for sentence-rhythm.

With the prose usage before us, we shall proceed to the consideration of the adverb of degree in the dramatists, where we may reasonably expect more license both on stylistic and metrical grounds. The adverbs will be studied in groups based on similarity of ending and similarity of function.[13] When adverbs are postponed, the passages containing such postponements will be studied separately with reference to the context to investigate if a change in the meaning or function of the adverb motivates its change in position.

[13] Adverbs of degree resist hard and fast categories, because of their irregularity not only of form but of usage. Some types express only the idea of quantity in greater or less degree; others perform an additional function in the sentence. In view of such diversity, it has seemed easier on the whole for purposes of exposition to adopt a two-fold plan of presentation. Those adverbs which express quantity alone are grouped according to similarity of endings in chapters II, III, IV. Those adverbs which may carry not only the idea of quantity but some additional idea as well (conjunctional, correlative, interrogative, exclamatory) are grouped separately in chapters V, VI, where the additional function may be properly studied. This double plan of arrangement may be reconciled by the fact that the three chapters based on terminations also include by cross-references those adverbs of similar endings which are later discussed in the chapters based on function.

CHAPTER II

THE POSITION IN COMEDY OF ADVERBS OF DEGREE

ENDING IN UM, O, US

Aliquantum (Hand *Turs. seu de part. Lat. com.* [1829-1845] I 252 for the original case-function of the word, Lodge *Lex. Pl. s. v.*, Hand-Schmitt *Lehrb. d. lat. Stils*[3] 168, Kühner *Lat. Gr.*[2] II 246, 12b for position) precedes in 4 examples[1] (1 with separation), follows in 3; *Asin.* 400 rufulus aliquantum ventriosus is variously punctuated and interpreted.

The metrical form of the word (˘ ˘ — ˘)might easily cause difficulty in its collocation in the verse.[2] It is once placed at the beginning of the iambic colon *Asin.* 400; twice at the caesura *Eun.* 131 separated from the modified word, and *And.* 447 subtristis visus est esse aliquantum mihi being followed by an enclitic pronoun which is the ultimate word in the clause (cf. *Bacch.* 350 for a similar arrangement); Schneider *op. cit.* 67 notes a like tendency in verbs to yield occasionally the final position in a clause to slightly stressed words as enclitics etc. In both *And.* 447 and *Capt.* 648 subrufus aliquantum crispus, we find the force of the prefix *sub* (standing at the beginning of the verse) repeated in the postponed adverb—a pleonasm which Morris ed. *Capt. ad loc.* compares with the colloquial strengthening in *Capt.* 644 magis certius (see below p. 57). In *Capt.* 648, the order *aliquantum subrufus* would be metrically impossible by the law of resolution[3] of the thesis and arsis which requires that the second word bear a word-accent on its first syllable and be toneless

[1] aliquantum: for examples in Plautus and Terence, cf. Allardice-Junks and Junks *s.v.* Ordinarily in this study, for brevity's sake, the reader will be referred as here to the above indices for the list of precedences of the adverb of degree in Plautus and Terence. In the case of certain adverbs which have a varied usage and classification, citation will be made of those passages which have been selected as pertinent to this study.

[2] Cf. the behavior of *věhěmēntěr*, which in comedy precedes 7 times, follows 6 (see below p. 37); for the percentage of postponement in early prose and poetry of long adverbs with the quantitative ending — ˘, see below p. 79.

[3] For the law of resolutions, see Klotz *Grundz. alt. Metr.* (Leipzig 1890) 255–261; for the licence of placing in the arsis a long syllable bearing the word-accent as in *subrufus*, see *ibid.* 339-40.

in its second. In *Trin.* 517 huc concede aliquantúm: : licet, the tmesis in the group *huc aliquantum* by the imperative may be compared with the juxtaposition in the same group after the verse-pause in *Trin.* 625 huc aliquantum apscessero.[4] The imperative after a verse-pause as in *Trin.* 517, is not uncommon in comedy and its metrical form here easily invites to a tmesis of the word-group with a consequent postponement of *aliquantum*. Moreover the position of *aliquantúm* :: *licet* in this passage at the end of the verse suggests the tendency of the simple form *quantum* to form similar accentual groups with dissyllabic verbs (*quantúm potést, etc.*) at the end of the verse (see below p. 75). Other occurrences of *aliquantum* as the penultimate word before a final dissyllabic word are in *Bacch.* 106, *And.* 447; *aliquanto* is similarly placed *Stich.* 417, *Trin.* 119, *Vid.* 32; see below p. 84 for other adverbs in this position of the verse. In its one occurrence in Cato (see above p. 1), the postponed order with *aliquantum* results in sentence rhythm; so that it is not strange that the poets also availed themselves of this order. The fact that in both *Trin.* 517 and *Agr. Cult.* 40:1 the postponements are with imperatives is not vital, for in comedy as in Cato we shall realize the futility of attempting to connect a difference of emphasis with a difference in the position of the adverb in respect to the imperative (see above p. 1 n.). In Cicero, the postponement of *aliquantum* is rather frequent; while he says *ad Fam.* 5:13 erat aliquantum labefactata, he also says *ad Att.* 5:11 proficimus aliquantum. Regarding the free position of *aliquantum* and *aliquanto*, Hand *op. cit.* 256 says, "Facile colligitur nihil differe sensum sive aliquanto et aliquantum ante suum verbum sive post ponatur."

For the diminutive form *aliquantulum*, see below p. 21.

Aliquanto (Lodge *op. cit. s. v.*, *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* [Leipzig 1900 —] *s.v.*, Kühner *Lat. Gr.*[2] II 246, 12b, Seyffert-Müller ed. *Lael. Comment.* 13, Raspe *op. cit.* 53) precedes in 6 examples[5] (1 with separation), follows in 1. As in the case of *aliquantum*, this adverb because of its length and metrical form may have required careful treatment in its use in the verse. In *Aul.* 539 and *Asin.* 893 (its sole usage in a

[4] Lodge *op. cit.* 625 probably interprets *aliquantum* as postponed with *huc*, since he states that this adverb always follows verbs or adjectives. Gray considers *aliquantum* in *Trin.* 517, *Heaut.* 201 as the accusative of extent (ed. *Heaut. ad loc.*).

[5] aliquanto : for examples in Plautus, cf. Allardice-Junks *s.v.* There are no examples in Terence.

trochaic passage), it is accented *aliquánto*, elsewhere *áliquantó*; 3 times it becomes the penultimate word in the verse and clause (see below p. 84).

Its sole postponement occurs *Asin.* 893 animam suaviorem aliquanto quam uxoris meae with attendant assonance in *qú-o, qú-o*. Evidently the postponement did not occur to avoid the succession of short syllables and the proceleusmatic foot which would result from animam aliquanto,[6] since Plautus at times admits this foot as a substitute for the trochaic foot especially with elision;[7] but the reversed order may have resulted from the problem of disposing in the verse the two long words *aliquanto* and *suaviorem*, the order chosen allowing *quanto* to stand at the beginning of the second colon (see below p. 81 for the relative frequency of the adverb *quantum* at the beginning of the verse or colon).

Aliquanto is not infrequently postponed in the prose of Cicero and Livy: *ad Fam.* 10:1 aliquanto ante but 10:3 ante aliquanto; Liv. 42:28 aliquanto serius but 43:19 maiore aliquanto. According to Kühner, the precedence of *aliquanto* and similar adverbs of degree with comparatives is the more frequent order; Raspe explains the variation in order in aliquanto plus, plus aliquanto by a difference in meaning, a distinction which Hand refuses to grant (see under *aliquantum* above p. 8); Hand-Schmitt *op. cit.* 168 say that when *aliquanto* and *admodum* are postponed "die Bedeutung des voranstehenden Wortes immer etwas erhöht"; similarly Seyffert-Müller say that the postponements of *aliquanto, paulo, satis, multo, paene, prope, longe, plane* indicate that the modified word conveys the leading idea;[8] but it is sometimes difficult, at least in comedy, to detect a change in emphasis as resulting from the changed order.

Omnino (Raspe *op. cit.* 41, Kühner *Lat. Gr.*[2] II 246, 12 a for the frequent postponement with negatives and certain adverbs of time) precedes in 10 examples[9] (8 with separation), follows in 2. The word-

[6] We may observe a juxtaposition of animo aliquanto in *Aul.* 539.

[7] See Hayley *An Introduction to the Verse of Terence* (1900) 17, Klotz *op. cit.* 353.

[8] Similarly Merriam ed. *Herod.* 6:3, 2:5 says that μάλα, οὕτως, εὖ, μεγάλως are emphasized by their position after the modified word, but when modifying a few special words (οὐ, εὖ, αὐτίκα) μάλα regularly follows with no mention of emphasis.

[9] omnino : for examples in Plautus and Terence, cf. Allardice-Junks and Junks *s.v.*, Afr. 345. The compound adverb *omnimodis* precedes in 5 examples, standing at the beginning of the verse; in *Rud.* 895 and *Eun.* 384 the component parts of the compound

group omnino ut occurs *Most.* 839 (Fay's punctuation), *And.* 524; ut omnino Afr. 345.

The postponements are: *Bacch.* 350 exorsa haec tela non male omnino mihist, cf. *ad Att.* 9:10 faciet omnino male for the opposite order. The penultimate position of *omnino* followed by the enclitic pronoun at the end of the clause and verse is paralleled by the position of *aliquantum* in *And.* 447 (see above p. 7, below p. 84 for similar examples). With the tmesis form *non-omnino*, cf. the juxtaposed order of the same words *Asin.* 233 non omnino iam perii, but the opposite order of adverb and negative appears in *ad Fam.* 6:9 alterum omnino non desidero where *non* is adherescent with the verb as in Enn. *tr.* 340 nam omnino haut placet. The usage of *non-omnino* may be classed with the familiar usage of *ne-quidem* enclosing an emphatic word; similar is the usage of the tmesis form in *Capt.* 284 non mendax modost.[10]

In *Adel.* 990 non iusta iniusta prorsus omnia omnino obsequor, *omnino* is often taken as modifying *omnia*[11] because of the not infrequent group *omnino omnes* etc.; if this interpretation is accepted, the postponement of the adverb may arise from the observance of the dipodic law of Meyer (see Hayley *op. cit.* 8); however, *omnia omnino* is not inevitable merely because of juxtaposition; the adverb may well be taken as modifying *obsequor*, using *prorsus* with *omnia* (cf. *Pers.* 477). *Omnino*[12] precedes *omne* in *Capt.* 325 nón ego ómninó lucrum ómne esse útile hómini, where Hallidie ed. *Capt. ad loc.* speaks of the assonance in *ómnino-ómne-hómini* as used apparently to promote emphasis.

Insanum (Gehlhardt *De adv. ad notionem augend. a Pl. usurpatis* [Halle 1892] 42, Sonnenschein ed.[2] *Most.* v. 761), precedes in 5 examples, [13] follows in none.

occur in a triadic form—*omnibus*, verb, *modis*—at the end of the verse; in *Merc.* 920 *omnibus* stands at the beginning of the verse, where Müller *Pl. Pros.* (Berlin 1869) 54 would read *omnimodis*.

[10] Similar to the behavior of *non—omnino* is that of οὐδὲ ἀρχὴν in Greek: Herod. 6:33 οὐδὲ ἔπλωσαν ἀρχὴν, but Soph. *Antig.* 92 ἀρχὴν—οὐ πρέπει where the negative is adherescent with the verb.

[11] Cf. with this possible usage of *omnia omnino* as a summary of preceding words, the similar use in Cic. *Inv.* 2:161 vis aut iniuria et omnino omne; also see Merrill ed. *Lucret. de Rer. Nat.* (1906) 1:863 concerning this use in a catalogue.

[12] Cf. the flexibility of *fere* when used with *omnis*, see below p. 50.

[13] insanum : for examples in Plautus, cf. Allardice-Junks *s.v.*

Magnum precedes in its one occurrence *Mil.* 823.

Multum (Gehlhardt *op. cit.* 7-8, Wölfflin *Lat. u. Rom. Comp.* [Erlangen 1879] 8, Hand *op. cit.* III 668, Lorenz ed.[2] *Mil.* v. 370 *Krit. Anm.*) precedes in 23 examples[14] (3 with separation), follows in 19. Gehlhardt says "Apparet multum liberrime et praemitti adiectivis verbisque et postponi." Interesting in this connection is the adherescence of *multum* with certain adjectives, and the final incorporation into one word (see Gehlhardt *ibid.* 10): *multipotens Bacch.* 652; *multigeneribus Capt.* 159, cf. *Stich.* 383; *multiloca Cist.* 149, cf. *Pseud.* 794; *multibiba Curc.* 77, cf. *Cist.* 149. This adherescent property leading to the formation of compound adjectives would seem to be an evidence of an original precedence of *multum*, at least when it modifies adjectives. In *Most.* 85 recordatus multum et diu cogitavi, occurs the familiar group *multum et diu* (see Kelsey ed.[6] *de Sen.* 3:9 for other examples). In *Trin.* 68 verbis multis multum obiurigem, Plautus purposely has juxtaposed an adjective and an adverb of the same root, an order which he often uses.[15]

Nine of the postponements of *multum* are probably connected with metrical convenience, since 6 of them occur at the end of the verse or colon,[16] and 2 at the caesura: *Stich.* 243 risi te hodie multum, Pl. *fr.* 13 terebratus multum sit (for the penultimate position of the adverb in the clause, see below p. 85). The postponement in the latter example is interesting because of the similar position of *bene* between participle and enclitic verb in Cato (see above p. 3 n.), where an obvious rhythm results from such postponements of the adverb.

Metrical convenience also probably influences the order in *Pers.* 108 sapis multum ad genium, where *sapis* is impossible in the second foot; cf. *Most.* 170 sapit—multum where the adverb stands at the end of the verse. The corrupt *Men.* 985 metuam haud multum (emendation of Pylades) is in a lyrical passage, the arrangement of which varies with different editors: Fowler places metuam haud

[14] multum : for examples in Plautus and Terence, cf. Allardice-Junks and Junks *s.v.*, Naev. 55. Nov. 24. The compound adverb *multimodis* precedes in 8 examples, follows once at the end of the verse (*multis modis Rud.* 837); in 5 cases of precedence it stands at a verse- pause.

[15] See Seyffert *Stud. Pl.* (Berlin 1879) 23 n. for examples of this artificiality in arrangement, also Gehlhardt *op. cit.* 43.

[16] *Mil.* 370, 414, 443, *Most.* 170, *Pers.* 303, *Rud.* 261 (lyrical passage).

multum at the end of verse and clause, while G. S. and Lindsay place it at the beginning of the verse, with a resulting repetition of the verb at the end of the preceding verse. Cf. the position held elsewhere by *haud* (*non*) *multum* at the end or beginning of a colon: *Capt.* 272, *Heaut.* 668, *Hec.* 460; also the position held by *haud* +other adverbs at the end of the verse or colon and clause: *Asin.* 409, *Curc.* 123, *Merc.* 237, *Pseud.* 1078, *Stich.* 575, see below p. 28. For negatived adverbs at the end of a clause in Cato, see above p. 3.

The study of examples presenting *multum* postponed in greetings gives interesting material: *Men.* 775 ibo advorsum, || salve multum mi pater,[17] *Pers.* 739, *Poen.* 1050, *Pseud.* 270, *Trin.* 1180, *Hec.* 82. In all these examples, "*salve multum*" stands before or after a verse-pause. However, the position of the adverb changes in *Rud.* 416 salve adulescens :: et tu multum || salveto adulescentula, where the form of the verb is changed. The form *salveto* when used as a reply to *salve* is significantly rare. In 25 examples when A says to B "*salve*," B answers "*salve*"; in the 3 exceptions when B answers "*salveto*," it stands after a verse-pause, as in *Rud.* 416. This fact itself may influence the precedence of *multum* in *Rud.* 416. (See Loch *Z. Gebr. d. Imperativs b. Pl.* [Memel 1871] 11 for the use of the future imperative in this passage to avoid hiatus.) In this connection, we may notice that *plurumum* also may precede *salvere* in a greeting, or may follow (see below p. 20). Hence the order in "*salve multum*" may be connected with the trochaic form of the verb. But while *multum* is postponed with *salve*, it precedes with *vale* and *valete*:[18] *Stich.* 496, *Poen.* 1368; cf. the order in multúm valet(es) *Amph.* 1103, Naev. 55 at the end of the verse (the expression not being a greeting). Connected with the same verb are other adverbs which precede in frequently recurring and apparently conventional greetings as *ut vales*, *bene vale*, where *vale* always occurs with the recessive accent (Radford *AJP* XXV 260, 272, Kellerhoff *Stud. Stud.* [1891] II 82); we may observe also the quantitative weakness of *vale* leading to easy adherescence in composites as *valedico*. While *bene vale* is invariable,

[17] *Multum* stands in a similar position in the verse *Men.* 63, 524, *Pers.* 739, *Trin.* 68, 1180 followed by a word or phrase of 3 syllables.

[18] The use of *multum-plurimum* with forms of *valere* in Cicero's speeches and philosophical works based on examples given in Merguet's *Lexika* is as follows: in precedence 18 times, in postponement 17, the majority of the postponements being at the end of the clause.

we find the reverse order with a changed verb-form *Poen.* 912 váleas bene, Hor. *Sat.* 2:2:71 valeás bene. When used with *salve*, *bene* is postponed *Most.* 568 salvere iubeo te, Misargyrides, bene |. Hence the explanation of the regularity in the precedence of *multum* and *bene* when used with *vale* as compared with the postponement when used with *salve* may lie in the different quantitative forms of the two imperatives.[19] For the same variation in the order of other adverbs when combined with these imperatives, cf. Ov. *Met.* 10:62 supremumque vale, Verg. *Aen.* 11:97-8 salve aeternum mihi, maxime Palla | aeternumque vale, Stat. *Sil.* 3:3:208-9 salve supremum senior mitissime patrum | supremumque vale.

In 2 passages *multum* is postponed in artificial arrangements of words resulting in chiasmus: *Men.* 572 utimur maxume more moro | molestoque multum (reading of P) a lyrical passage, but cf. *Capt.* 272 non multum fuit molesta; *Heaut.* 668 nisi me animus fallit multum, haud multum a me aberit. Here the chiastic arrangement and postponement of *multum* is not wholly artificial, since *nisi—fallit* is a quotation from v. 614, the slave borrowing even its position in the verse, hence if an intensive adverb is added, it must perforce follow; cf. *Hec.* 728 where the adverb precedes *fallit*.

Artificiality in the disposition of words is also apparent in *Men.* 524 Menaechme, amare ait te || multum Erotium; the names of the amorous pair stand at the two ends of the verse, the medial words being arranged with some deference not only to assonance and alliteration but to the situation—*te* is attracted to *Erotium*,[20] being separated only by *multum*, which by its interposition at the caesura really serves to intensify the feeling of liaison.

Cicero shows some freedom in the position of *multum* : *ad Fam.* 6:6 multum providens but also 12:25 providi multum; 1:9 multum valuit but 2:19 valet-multum.

[19] The apparent flexibility of *multum* and *plurimum* in salutations is not unlike the behavior of πολλά used in Greek salutations where it precedes χαίρειν in Aes. *Agam.* 572, Soph. *Elect.* 1456, Plat. *Phaed.* 272*e*, Eurip. *Hip.* 113, 1059; but follows in Arist. *Acharn.* 200, 832, *Ran.* 164, Eurip. *Elect.* 1335, *Hip.* 1453; also cf. Arist. *Thesm.* 211 μακρὰ|κλάειν, but *Equit.* 433 κλάειν σε μακρά; for other examples, see Leeuwen ed. *Arist. Ran.* 34.

[20] The position of *Erotium* at the end of the verse seems almost stereotyped in *Menaechmi*, since in 9 of the 10 occurrences it is found in this position.

Paulum (Hand *op. cit.* IV 410) precedes in 9 examples[21] (1 with separation), follows in 3. Its postponements occur in similar passages : *Eun.* 1068 concede paulum istuc, *Epid.* 238 abscessi sciens | paulum ab illis (the division of the sentence by the verse is perhaps justified by the fact that *sciens* has a favorite habitat at the end of the verse), *Phorm.* 741 concede hinc a foribus paulum istorsum sodes. The groups paulum istuc, istorsum, ab illis, are similar to those formed with *aliquantum Trin.* 517, 625, and with *paululum Eun.* 706, *Asin.* 925, where the adverbs appear to enter into logical composites regardless of precedence or postponement with the modified word, the natural order not being necessarily the grammatical order of words.

For the diminutive form *paululum*, see below p. 21.

Prorsus, prosus, prorsum, prosum (Ritschl *Op.* II 261 ff. for the variety of forms, Gehlhardt *op. cit.* 28, Rolfe *Cl. Phil. XVII* [1922] 144 ff., Kühner *Lat. Gr.*[2] II 246, 12 a for postponement with negatives) as an adverb of degree precedes in 22 examples[22] (10 with separation), follows in 8. Combined with *perii* etc., the adverb occurs *Aul.* 397, *Adel.* 324; also as a tag at the end of the verse *Curc.* 681, *Trin.* 1130. *Pro(r)sus* etc. *non* with and without tmesis occurs *Poen.* 1393, *And.* 371, *Eun.* 332, *Hec.* 673, *Adel.* 762; but *non prorsus Pseud.* 955 (reading of P) where *prorsus* expresses manner, and *Adel.* 990 (with separation).

The postponements are: with *ni(h)il—And.* 435 nil prorsus || , *Heaut.* 894 nil prorsum (penultimate word in verse, see below p. 84), cf. *ad Att.* 8:13 nihil prorsus; but we also find *Heaut.* 776 prorsum || nihil, cf. Sall. *B. J.* 66 prorsus nihil. With negative verbs: *Stich.* 720 nolo ego nos prosum bibere (corrupt passage), Afr. 93 vetuit me sine mercede || prosum Pausias | remeare, where alliterative effects appear; *Phorm.* 980 quid agam cum illo nesciam || prorsum, but we also find *Hec.* 444 prorsus nescio |, cf. *ad Att.* 3:10 prorsus ne quid ignorem. It can hardly be maintained that a difference in emphasis is designed to be felt in *Phorm.* 980 and *Hec.* 444 by the shifting in

[21] paulum : for examples in Plautus and Terence, cf. Allardice-Junks and Junks *s.v.*, Nov. 24.

[22] prorsus etc. : *Asin.* 748, *Aul.* 397, *Curc.* 681, *Most.* 307, *Pers.* 477, *Poen.* 1393, *Trin.* 1130, Pl. *fr.* 39, *And.* 510, *Heaut.* 776, *Eun.* 254, 306, 332, *Hec.* 444, 673, *Adel.* 324, 520, 550, 762, 844, 990, *Inc. com.* 59.

Gehlhardt in his discussion omits several of the Plautine examples cited above, probably considering them as asseverative adverbs.

the position of the adverb. The explanation for the variation may lie in the tendency of *prorsus* to stand at the beginning or end of a metrical phrase (see below p. 81), and in the habit of using the cretic *nescio*[23] etc. as a tag for the end of the verse. With negative pronouns: *Asin.* 236 nec quemquem interea alium admittat || prorsus quam me, *Trin.* 730 nullo modo | potest fieri prosus ||, but Pl. *fr.* 39 || prorsum parcunt nemini; cf. Cic. *N. D.* 3:8:21 nullo modo prorsus, but *de Orat.* 2:61 verbum prorsus nullum. In all the above examples from comedy, metrical considerations seem to enter into the postponement of the adverb.

Other postponements also place the adverb at a metrical pause : *Eun.* 1082 accipit homo nemo melius || prorsus neque prolixius, *prorsus* probably not being construed with *nemo* but with *melius* and *prolixius*, the postponement furthering the ἀπὸ κοινοῦ construction, as well as promoting metrical and alliterative effects (see Davies ed. *Eun. ad loc.* for this view, while Ashmore interprets the adverb as asseverative);[24] *Epid.* 582 argentum egurgitem domo || prosus (cf. *Asin.* 236, *Pers.* 477, *Trin.* 730, Pl. *fr.* 39, *And.* 510, *Eun.* 1082, *Phorm.* 980 for *prorsus* at beginning[25] of a metrical phrase). *Prorsus* (of time) is postponed *Heaut.* 140 facio prorsus || (where Ballentine with Kauer follows the punctuation of Joviales and writes prorsus nihil).

Admodum (Gehlhardt *op. cit.* 26 ff., Lodge *op. cit. s. v.*, Wölfflin *Comp.* 22, Hand. *op. cit.* I 168, Seyffert-Müller *op. cit.* 13, 97, Hand-Schmitt *op. cit.* 168) precedes in 11 examples[26] (3 with separation), follows in 8. In 6 of 11 examples showing it in precedence, *admodum* modifies the penultimate word or phrase in the verse. In 3 it stands at the end of the verse with the modified word deferred to the following verse (see below p. 82). Besides taking advantage of the metrical adaptability of *admodum* to the end of the verse, such an

[23] *Amph.* 844, 1038, 1056, *And.* 746, *Heaut.* 308, 944, *Eun.* 657, 690 etc.

[24] So too in *Most.* 307 quisquam invideat prosus commodis, the adverb may well be taken not with the negatived pronoun but with *commodis* as Fay suggests (*ad loc.*).

[25] *Prorsus* etc. at the end of a metrical phrase *And.* 435, *Heaut.* 776, *Eun.* 254, *Adel.* 520, 550, 990.

[26] admodum : for examples in Plautus and Terence, cf. Allardice-Junks and Junks *s.v.*, Naev. 26 (twice).

arrangement may also involve artistic considerations.[27] In *Epid.* 104 tibi sum elocutus omnem, Chaeribule, atque admodum | meorum maerorum atque amorum summam edictavi tibi, the adverb by its separation from the deferred modified word promotes the chiastic groups—tibi sum elocutus omnem . . . summam edictavi tibi. Moreover, standing at the end of the verse and at the beginning of the second clause which amplifies it, it may act as a copulative word with a feeling of ἀπὸ κοινοῦ to bind together not only the two clauses but the two verses.

An element of intentional suspense is added in the separation by the verse in *Trin.* 593 etsi admodum | in ambiguost etiam nunc quid ea re fuat, and in *Pseud.* 1219 magno capite, acutis oculis, ore rubicundo, admodum | magnis pedibus. Appuhn *op. cit.* 39 in discussing Bothe's punctuation "ore rubicundo admodum," says "Ceterum animadvertas velim hoc loco verba collocandi rationem, quippe quae sit propter duas res laudanda. Primum cum id, quod summi momenti est, non modi postremo loco ponitur, sed etiam versus prior vocabulo admodum, quod ad rem augendam valet, concluditur, res autem, ipsa in insequenti demum versu apparet, vehementissime Ballionis simulque spectatorum exspectatio excitatur"; see also Leo *Nach. d. gött. Ges.* (1895) 428.

Admodum occurs in the following tags which fall at the end of the verse: *Trin.* 366, Naev. 26 admodum adulescentulust, *Epid.* 505 admodum incerte scio, *Pseud.* 962 admodum incerto scio. Used as an answer, the adverb stands 4 times at the end of the verse.

Six of the postponements of *admodum* are probably connected with its metrical adaptability to the end of the verse: *Amph.* 268, *Bacch.* 501 (cf. however *Epid.* 505, *Pseud.* 962), *Most.* 812, *Heaut.* 53, *Adel.* 403[28](cf. however *Phorm.* 477), *Trin.* 665 pernovi, equidem, Lesbonice, ingenium tuom ingenuom admodum, where Morris construes *admodum* with *pernovi* rather than with *ingenuom*, saying that Plautus not infrequently puts an adverb at the end of the verse as an afterthought (see also Freeman-Sloman and Fairclough editions *Trin. ad loc.*). If this interpretation is correct, we have a verse bracketed by the

[27] See Vahlen *Über d. Verschlüsse in d. Komödien d. Terent.* (Berlin 1900) 6 ff., also Appuhn *Quaest. Pl.* (Marpurgi 1893) 32 ff. for further discussion of two verses bound together by an adverb placed at the end of the first verse.

[28] The use of *iratum* etc. as the penultimate word in the verse, as in *Adel.* 403, is not infrequent; cf. *Poen.* 353, *Phorm.* 477, Sext. Turp. 35, Afr. 45 etc.

modified verb and the modifying adverb.[29] If on the other hand, *admodum* modifies *ingenuom*, there may be an intentional striving for chiastic effect in the word-order of the verse—the intensive prefix *per* at the beginning of the verse before the verb, and the postponed adverb at the end of the verse as a restrictive suffix to the adjective.[30]

In the lyrical passage *Poen.* 246 insulsae admodum atque invenustate (Merula emends cod. reading to *invenustae*), the postponement of the adverb may be connected with ἀπὸ κοινοῦ. The postponement in *Men.* 622 tristis admodumst may be connected with the desirability of keeping intact the word-accent of *tristis* (cf. *tristis* as the initial word in a trochaic verse : *Men.* 608, *Merc.* 600, *Truc.* 593, *And.* 857 ; as the second word but with the word-accent preserved *Men.* 644, 777, 810, *Truc.* 316). For the desirability of placing cretic words as *admodumst, oppido* etc. at the beginning of the second thesis see below p. 19, also Klotz *op. cit.* 255. Cf. however, *Pseud.* 1153, *Rud.* 1081 where *admodum* stands in the first foot of the trochaic verse with the final syllable lost by elision without destroying the word-accent of the following word. For other examples of enclitic verbs at the end of the clause following a postponed adverb as *admodumst*, see above p. 11, also below p. 85.

For the flexibility of *admodum* in prose, cf. Liv. 43:16 tristis admodum eorum aspera censura fuit, but 22:30 laetusque dies ex admodum tristi; Apul. *Met.* 9:22 puer admodum, but 9:28 tener et admodum puer; Cic. *de Amic.* 1:2 pauci admodum but *Tusc.* 2:11 nisi admodum paucos; (see Kelsey ed.[6] *de Amic.* 1:2 for the usual precedence in Cicero of *admodum* when used with *pauci*) ; *ad Att.* 13:32 nisi admodum sero but *Tusc.* 4:1 quae sero admodum expetita ; Liv. 42:65 mille admodum capiuntur but 44:43 admodum quingenti Cretenses. The postponement of the adverb in *de Amic.* 4:16 gratum admodum feceris results in the clausula — ˘ — | — ˘ —, and its precedence in *de Amic.* 26:99 nisi qui admodum est excors in the clausula — ˘ — | — —. (See Blum *op. cit.* 6, 8.) Such examples seem to indicate that the flexibility of *admodum* may be connected

[29] For other examples of this type of bracketed verse, see below p. 84. Other examples of the repetition of the force of the prefix in the postponed adverb are *Capt.* 648, *And.* 447.

[30] Other examples of the chiastic arrangement of a prefix balancing a postponed adverb are *Merc.* 640, Afr. 320, see below p. 86.

with its quantitative form. Hand-Schmitt, however, would explain its frequent postponements in classical usage as due to an unusual emphasis given to the modified word; cf. also Madvig-Thatcher *Lat. Gr.* ¶468. Gehlhardt says that this adverb may precede or follow adjectives and verbs in Plautus, but makes no attempt to connect the postponements with any idea of emphasis. Seyffert-Müller *op. cit.* 13 say that it follows only when the preceding word contains the leading idea, and later (97) state that whether *admodum* precedes or follows the modified word, there is no difference in its meaning, a view which seems probable.

Oppido (Gehlhardt *op. cit.* 18, Wölfflin *Comp.* 21, *Archiv. f. l. Lex.* VI 195, Reisig *op. cit.* I 287 n., Dz.-Hauler ed.[4] *Phorm.* [1913] v. 317, Kretschmer *Glott.* IV 304 for fundamental meaning of *oppido*) precedes in 14 examples[31] (4 with separation), follows in 16. The larger number of cases in which the adverb is postponed at once arouses interest.

Oppido occurs 6 times as the initial word in a trochaic verse or colon; is 9 times postponed at the end of the verse,[32] the cretic form of the adverb being well adapted to such metrical positions (see below p. 81).

The locution *perii oppido* occurs *Aul.* 800, *Pers.* 741, *Rud.* 550; also perdidi—oppido *Most.* 136 (for other examples of bracketed verse see below p. 84); we find the same postponement with *perii* *Asin.* 287 perii ego oppido where *perii* is the initial word in the verse, and with *periere Most.* 165 at the beginning of a colon (see below). The opposite order is found *Aul.* 410 totus doleo atque oppido perii, *Merc.* 709 oppido perii miser,[33] and in the similar *Amph.* 299, *Aul.* 728, *Bacch.* 853.

Other postponements of *oppido* occurring before or after a verse-

[31] oppido : for examples in Plautus and Terence, cf. Allardice-Junks and Junks *s.v.*

[32] *Asin.* 883, *Aul.* 800, *Bacch.* 869, *Cist.* 576 (Pylades supplies *oppido*), *Merc.* 239, *Most.* 136, *Pers.* 741, *Rud.* 207, 550, also *oppido* used as an answer *Phorm.* 896. In *Merc.* 239, Gehlhardt punctuates "ambedisse, oppido—mirum," but the G. S. and Lindsay punctuation is rather to be preferred, since *ambedisse oppido* is curiously similar to the general sense of annihilation (helped by the verse-end) in the category of *perii, exsorbeo, interii, corruptum* which the other cases of *oppido* in the end of the verse present.

[33] It is not impossible that the precedence of *oppido* in *Merc.* 709, *Bacch.* 853 is foreordained by the poet's choice of the expression perii (interii) miser as a tag for the end of the verse. This locution occurs in this position of the verse a sufficient number

pause,[34] hence probably connected with meter, are *Heaut.* 669 in angustum oppido || nunc meae coguntur (where Gray interprets the adverb with the verb) ; *Heaut.* 704 bonam atque iustam rem oppido || imperas ; *Phorm.* 763 animo iniquo hoc oppido || ferre; in *Most.* 809 perambula aedis || oppido tamquam tuas, besides the influence of meter in the position of *oppido* at the beginning of a metrical phrase, we have the artificial interlocked order according to Gehlhardt, who construes the adverb with the verb, and condemns oppido tamquam (which Lorenz sanctioned in his first edition); however the latter interpretation gains some probability in view of the similar modification of clauses by *ferme* in *Pers.* 451 (*ferme* Scaliger for *firme* cod.), *Hec.* 312 (see Ribbeck *Lat. Partik.* 7).

In *Hec.* 238 enim lassam oppido tum esse aibant, *enim oppido* would be metrically impossible at the beginning of the verse. Other trochaic verses containing cretic or dactylic adverbs at the beginning of the second thesis are *Asin.* 287, *Adel.* 322—*oppido*; *Men.* 622 —*admodumst*; *Trin.* 647, *And.* 835, *Adel.* 518—*maxume*; *And.* 622, *Heaut.* 316, 899—*paululum* ; also see above p. 17. In *Most.* 165 parietes || periere haec oppido aedes, the adverb is postponed in interlocked order with attendant alliteration (for other cases of postponement with forms of *perii*, see above p. 18). According to the view of Gehlhardt (see above), *Most.* 809 gives the same interlocked order.

In *ad Fam.* 14:4 servirent praeterquam oppido pauci, the adverb precedes, while in Caes. *B. Afr.* 47 attenuati oppido perquam pauci—quiescebant, it follows the modified word.

Inpendio (Wagner ed.[2] *Aul.* v. 18) precedes in 2 examples,[35] follows in 1 at the end of the verse *Aul.* 18. In all its occurrences, it stands at the end of verse or colon.

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of times to establish its metrical adaptability and desirability: *Amph.* 810, 1039, *Bacch.* 836, *Merc.* 510 (*misera*), 986, *Stich.* 388, *Hec.* 133; also *Aul.* 411 perii—miser (end of colon), *Curc.* 133 perditus sum miser etc. See Seyffert *Stud. Pl.* 24 ff. for such tags, also below p. 83. Moreover, we find *perii* frequently placed at the beginning of the verse: *Bacch.* 281, 680, 1090, 1102, *Cas.* 414, 809, 895, 967 etc. Metrical habit having fixed the precedence of the verb, the adverb follows as in *Asin.* 287, *Stich.* 498.

[34] In 8 passages where *oppido* precedes the modified word, it stands after a verse-pause; in 2 it stands before such a pause.

[35] inpendio : *Eun.* 587, Afr. 351, cf. *ad Att.* 10:4.

Maxumum follows in its one occurrence *Most.* 488 at the end of the verse.

Plurumum (Hand *op. cit.* IV 374, Gehlhardt *op. cit.* 10) precedes in 6 examples[36] (1 with separation), follows in 7.

Five of the postponements are probably connected with the metrical adaptability of the word to the end of the verse[37]: *Capt.* 371 (cf. however *Men.* 358—a lyrical verse), *Mil.* 331 (cf. however *Amph.* 757, the adverb being the initial word in the verse); such parallel passages giving the same words in different order with no apparent change in emphasis or thought are especially valuable in demonstrating the extent of metrical influence in word-order; *Adel.* 460 salvere Hegionem plurumum | iubeo, cf. *ad Att.* 10:1 salvere velim iubeas plurimum, but note the precedence of *plurumum* used with the same verb *Trin.* 435 servom || plurumum Philto iubet salvere, where the adverb stands at the caesura ; *Amph.* 525 te amarem plurumum, *Eun.* 1092 omnes amarent plurumum. However, not only at the end but also within the verse *plurumum* is postponed with *amo*, probably for metrical reasons; *Most.* 717 di te ament plurumum, Simo, where the order of the adverb seems imperative in the cretic verse (Klotz *op. cit.* 241 for the cretic adverb followed by an iambic word at the close of the verse); its cretic form is likewise more adapted to postponement in another cretic verse *Truc.* 590 amare plurumum omnium—habere omnium maxumum where the word-group *plurumum omnium*[38] may be placed intentionally in chiasmus with *omnium maxumum;* cf. the order omnium plurimum *ad Fam.* 11:16, 12:24. Cicero says *ad Att.* 1:1 multum amamus, but also *ad Fam.* 14:2 amo plurimum; 11:16 plurimum valet, but 9:24 valet plurimum. It is possible that

[36] plurumum : for examples in Plautus and Terence, cf. Allardice-Junks and Junks *s.v.*

[37] The use of the superlative forms at the end of the verse and clause is frequent, due probably not so much to the emphasis inherent in the nature of superlative forms, as to their quantitative forms, for while we find in this position *maxume, plurumum, paenissume* (— ˘ ⏑), we also find *amplius, rectius* (— ˘ ⏑), and *ampliter, largiter* (— ˘ ⏑). We have already seen Cato's usage of *quam* and the superlative at the end of the clause, the composite forming a rhythmical group (see above p. 4). In Cicero, superlatives are frequent at the end of the clause.

[38] With the postponed order of the group *plurumum omnium*, cf. the similar order in Anac. 42:8 φιλέω μάλιστα πάντων, but also the varying order in Xen. *Mem.* 1:54 ὃ πάντων μάλιστα φιλεῖ. The similarity in behavior of these adverbs of related meaning may reflect a common inherited tendency.

the explanation of such flexibility in the order of *multum-plurimum* in Cicero's colloquial prose may lie in the variety of order in early comedy which arose from metrical or poetical usage.

Aliquantulum precedes in one example, follows in one. In its 2 occurrences, it stands at the end of the verse, a position which diminutives (often words of unusual length) frequently hold. This fact may justify the separation of adverb and verb by the verse[39] in *Heaut.* 163 quaeso tandem aliquantulum | tibi parce, or the arrangement may be intentional in order to bind together two verses by the division of the sentence between them, the adverb at the end of the first verse serving as the copulative element. (See above p. 16.) With the evident metrical influence, its position in postponement at the end of the verse can not well be explained as an afterthought[40] in *Merc.* 640 breviculum | subnigris oculis, oblongis malis, pansam aliquantulum where the diminutives at the end of successive verses balance each other.

Paululum precedes in 4 examples[41] (2 with separation), follows in 4. It is postponed at the end of the verse *Adel.* 217 (cf. *Poen.* 802 for *paululum* as a substantive in this position); in *Aul.* 711 nam ego [non] declinavi || paululum me extra viam, the adverb stands at the beginning of the colon; in *Asin.* 925 abscede ergo paululum istuc ||, the composite group of adverbs stands at the end of the colon; cf. the order of the same group *Eun.* 706 concede istuc paululum:[42] audin ? || where *paululum* holds the same penultimate position in the colon. Note the flexibility of this adverb in Apul. *Met.* 1:2 paululum processerant but 9:25 secederet paululum.

Pauxillulum in its one occurrence is postponed at the end of the verse *Rud.* 729; cf. the adjective *pauxillulo* in the same position of the verse *Merc.* 193.

[39] For other examples of the violation of verse-unity for metrical convenience, see Prescott *Univ. of Cal. Publ. Cl. Phil.* I (1907) 234 ff.

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Plusculum in its 3 occurrences is postponed, twice at the caesural pause : Sext. Turp. 71, 132, once at the end of the verse *Amph.* 283.

Pauxillum precedes in its 3 occurrences.[43] In *Capt.* 176, Lindsay writes *pauxillum* (cod.) where G. S. write *pauxillo* (Lambinus).

Quantillum in its one occurrence precedes the modified word *Curc.* 103.

Tantillum in its one occurrence precedes the modified word *Cas.* 825.

Minumo is postponed in its 3 occurrences. In *Epid.* 295 quanti || emi potest minumo ? illane | , besides the metrical advantage in the position of this word, it seems to be intentional that words of quantity are placed at the beginning and at the end of the question, "for how much—at how little?" In *Epid.* 296 ad quadraginta fortasse eam posse emi minumo minas | , the poet repeats the word in the same position in the verse, with some gain in euphony by the succession of the syllables míminumómin. That *minumo* is quantitatively desirable in this position of the verse seems likely when we notice *Bacch.* 444 minumí preti , *Rud.* 720 minumó modo, *Hec.* 409, *Adel.* 625 minumést opus where cognate words of the same metrical form (˘ ˘ —′) hold the same position in the trochaic verse, forming two syllables of the sixth and one syllable of the seventh foot.[44] For further discussion of adverbs in this penultimate position in the verse, see below pp. 75, 84, etc.

In *Eun.* 75 redimas captum quam queas | minumo,[45] the tmesi in *quam minumo* may arise from the metrical adaptability of *queas* to the end of the verse (*queo* etc. are frequently found in this position). See below p. 46 n. for similar examples of tmesis in such composites.

Nimio (Ramsay ed. *Most. Exc.* 236. Gehlhardt *op. cit.* 16 f.) precedes in 33 examples[46] (17 with separation), follows in none. This

[43] pauxillum : for examples in Plautus, cf. Allardice-Junks *s.v.*

[44] For the oxytonesis of anapaestic words or word-complexes in this position in the iambic octonarius or the trochaic septenarius, see Radford *TAPA* XXXIV 92.

[45] *Minumo* in *Eun.* 75 is not cited by Junks as an adverb, although *Epid.* 295, 296 are included in the Allardice-Junks list. It is very possible that in all these passages *minumo* is not an adjective but an ablative of price; see Gray ed. *Epid.* v. 295, Forcellini *Tot. Lat. Lex. s.v.* where *minumo* is interpreted as an adjective with *pretio* understood as in *Hec.* 69.

[46] nimio : for examples in Plautus, cf. Allardice-Junks *s.v.* *Most.* 905, included in their list, is an exception to the normal use of this word with comparatives. However, Ramsay is possibly right in explaining it as an ablative of price with *argento* understood.

adverb, peculiar to Plautus in early Latin, is used with comparative words except in *Bacch.* 770, *Truc.* 704 (which Langen emends to *nimium*); because of these two deviations from the regularity found elsewhere, Gehlhardt would change both readings to *nimis*. *Nimio* is the initial word in the clause 17 times, in the verse or colon 18. The group nimió minus stands 3 times at the beginning of the verse: *Rud.* 460, *Truc.* 452, 673 ; nímio minus multó *Bacch.* 672 at the beginning of the colon (where Löfstedt *Glott.* III 176 writes nimio multo minus), cf. *Bacch.* 150 nimio iam múlto plus (bracketed by G. S.), *ad Att.* 10:8a nimio plus, but the opposite order of *nimio* with *plus* Hor. *Carm.* 1:18:15 plus nimio.

Nimium-pernimium (Ramsay ed. *Most. Exc.* 236, Gehlhardt *op. cit.* 14 f.) precedes in 58 examples[47] (24 with separation), follows in 3. It occurs 26 times as the initial word in verse or colon, 7 times as the penultimate word in the verse followed by a dissyllabic word (see below pp. 24, 84).

The phrase nimium lepide occurs *Cas.* 771, *Stich.* 703, 748, nimium lepidum etc. *Mil.* 998, 1003, *Poen.* 901, *Truc.* 505 always at a verse-pause. Nimium familiariter occurs twice at the end of the verse *Epid.* 2, *Rud.* 420.

Two of the postponements of *nimium* point to the influence of meter. In *Cist.* 19 raro nimium || dabat quod biberem (where F reads raro vinum nimium) Ussing writes raro enim ; cf. *ad Att.* 1:8 nimium raro abs te. In *And.* 455 tu quoque perparce nimium || , editors disagree in the interpretation, Freeman-Sloman, Wagner holding that *per* is in tmesis with *nimium*, Fairclough, Sturtevant, Ashmore denying it. Fairclough interprets the postponed adverb as repeating and reinforcing the meaning of the prefix, translating

There would also be an exception in the disputed reading Naev. 12 <nimium> arte colligor, on which Charisius says, "nimio pro nimis Naevius in Agitatoria," but this comment of Charisius on a corrupt fragment can be of little moment to us. See Langen *Beitr. z. Kritik u. Erkl. d. Pl.* (Leipzig 1880) 335. Wölfflin *Comp.* 24 sees another exception in *Bacch.* 396 nimio inpendiosum praestat, where he considers *nimio* as modifying *inpendiosum*. His interpretation, however, is not accepted because of the almost universal usage of *nimio* with words of comparative meaning (see Langen *op. cit.* 334).

[47] nimium-pernimium : for examples in Plautus and Terence, cf. Allardice-Junks and Junks *s.v.*, Naev. 12, Sext. Turp. 69, Titin. 49, Pomp. Bon. 17, 108. *Pernimium* is found only in *Adel.* 393 and in the *Digest* XLVIII 3:2 perdura et pernimium severa est.

the phrase "very sparingly, too much so" (cf. also his comment on *And.* 4 aliter multo "otherwise, very much so," where he states that in this position *multo* strengthens *aliter* emphatically). Similar possible instances of the strengthening of the prefix by a postponed adverb are found in *And.* 447 (at the caesura), *Capt.* 648, *Trin.* 665 (at the end of the verse, see above p. 17 n.); but the adverb may also precede the prefix as *Trin.* 1139 nimis pergraphicus (the adverb being the initial word in the verse), *ad Fam.* 5:12 paene subrusticus.

In *Adel.* 684 ingenium novi tuom | liberale, sed vereor ne indiligens nimium sies, the adverb by its postponement allows the two adjectives under contrast—which are the most important words in the sentence —to hold the most important positions in the verse, balancing each other at the beginning of each colon. For other occurrences of *nimium* as the penultimate word in the verse followed by a dissyllabic word, cf. *Cas.* 250, *Merc.* 526, *Stich.* 360, *Eun.* 597, *Adel.* 835; for other adverbs in this position in the verse, see above p. 17, below p. 84; for other occurrences of a postponed adverb as the penultimate word in the clause, followed by an enclitic verb, see below p. 85.

Freedom in the position of *nimium* appears in classical usage in both prose and poetry: Cic. *ad Fam.* 11:2 videri nimium cupidi, but *de Fin.* 4:25:10 turpe nimium quantum; Verg. *Georg.* 2:252 nimium— fertilis but 2:458 fortunatos nimium.

Parum (Hand *op. cit.* IV 396 ff.) precedes in 22 examples[48] (6 with separation), follows in 13. The formulaic expression *parumst* occurs 6 times, 5 of these being at the end of the verse; *parumne est* 2 times (for such formulaic expressions, see Landgraf *Archiv. f. l. Lex.* VI 287). Evidence seems to point to the normal precedence of this adverb both from the testimony of the compound *parumloquium* (*Merc.* 31) and the fact that all the 13 postponements occur at the end of the verse.[49] The metrical adaptability of the pyrrhic *parum* is further seen in *Pers.* 856 (a lyrical passage) and *Truc.* 898, in both of which passages the adverb holds the same position at the end of the verse with the modified word deferred to the following verse (see below p. 82).

[48] parum : for examples in Plautus and Terence, cf. Allardice-Junks and Junks *s.v.*

[49] *Asin.* 177, *Bacch.* 991, *Cas.* 584, *Curc.* 317 (cf. the opposite order *Phorm.* 735), *Epid.* 634, *Pers.* 550 (cf. *Eun.* 900), *Stich.* 495, *And.* 671, *Heaut.* 334, 924, *Hec.* 703, *Adel.* 425, 993.

The reading of B gives *parum* postponed in *Cas.* 350 tace parum <per>, where Camerarius supplies *per.*

Modo (Hand *op. cit.* III 627, Meiner *Lat. Partik.* 257) used in a restrictive sense as a quasi-quantitative adverb precedes in 16 examples[50] (6 with separation), follows in 26. The frequent usage of *modo* with imperatives is not included in these statistics. The group dum modo occurs Afr. 407; dum—modo *Asin.* 935, *Heaut.* 466, 641, *Eun.* 320, [*Adel.* 313], (*modo* in 4 passages at end of verse); sí modo *Adel.* 202; sí—modo *Rud.* 952; modo si *Amph.* 646, *Adel.* 205; ut modo *Phorm.* 712; modo ut *And.* 409, *Phorm.* 59, 773, *Adel.* 399 (always at beginning of verse).

Modo because of its quantitative form (˘ ˘) is easily adapted to critical positions in the verse; this fact probably accounts in part at least for its postponement in 14 examples[51] where it stands at the end of the verse; in some of these cases, there appear to be accessory factors.

Modo used restrictively is postponed with pronouns: *Amph.* 646, *Epid.* 37 id modo, *And.* 899 hoc modo, cf. Sall. *B. J.* 75 ea modo; but precedes *Most.* 906 nisi modo hasce; with nouns : *Most.* 433 pedem latum modo | , *Pseud.* 183 vini modo cupidae estis, *Trin.* 1050 re ipsa modo, *And.* 630 denegandi modo (by Fairclough and Sturtevant), *Heaut.* 457 pytissando modo, cf. Sall. *B. J.* 76 oppido modo, but precedes *ad Fam.* 5:11 modo gratiam.

Non—modo (inclosing the restricted word) occurs *Capt.* 284 non mendax modost (end of verse), *Epid.* 382 non oris causa modo, *Most.* 994, *Adel.* 386 (end of verse); note the same group in tmesis Cic. *de Orat.* 1:29 non mihi modo, but in juxtaposition 1:53 non modo parum; cf. the familiar *ne—quidem*, also *non—omnino*, see above p. 10.

Modo is postponed with words of quantity : *Capt.* 177 ne perpauxillo modo | ; by Freeman-Sloman's interpretation, it precedes *And.* 630 modo— paulum (where however Fairclough and Sturtevant are probably correct in reading *denegandi modo*, see above), *Heaut.* 316 si paululum modo, cf. Sall. *B. C.* 52 si paululum modo, *B. J.* 60 paulum modo, Caes. *B. G.* 7:52 parum modo; *Adel.* 835 ne

[50] modo : *Aul.* 433, *Most.* 906, 1177, *Rud.* 952, *And.* 409, *Heaut.* 466, 981, *Phorm.* 59, 68, 712, 773, *Adel.* 202, 205, 399, 507, Afr. 407.

[51] *Capt.* 177, 284, *Most.* 433, *Pseud.* 321, *Truc.* 561, 773, *Heaut.* 641, *Eun.* 320 *Phorm.* 109, 142, *Adel.* [313], 386, 835, Pomp. Bon. 43.

nimium modo | , *Phorm.* 109, 142 tantum modo | , Pomp. Bon. 43 recedas a me paulisper modo | . In all these examples except *Heaut.* 316 (where the reverse order is impossible metrically) the postponement of *modo* occurs at a metrical pause.

Modo is postponed with numerals : *Amph.* 639 noctem unam modo, *Pseud.* 321 sex dies aliquos modo |, *Truc.* 561 de mina una deminui modo |, *Truc.* 773 una cura—movit modo |; but also *Most.* 1177 hanc modo unam noxiam quaeso fac, cf. Sall. *B. J.* 69 biduum modo, *B. J.* 89 una modo; *modo* is postponed with *post Hec.* 208 póst modo.

Propemodum precedes in 12 examples[52] (9 with separation), follows in none. In 4 passages, it is the initial word in the verse (cf. also Pac. *tr.* 78); in 4, the final word in verse or colon, having its modified word deferred. In 3, it is the second word in an iambic verse, following a monosyllabic word. *Propemodum iam* occurs 4 times.

For *amplius, largius, minus, plus, adeo, tantum, quantum,* also ending in *us, um, o,* see below under adverbs of comparison or correlation pp. 56 ff., and adverbs of interrogation p. 75.

[52] propemodum : for examples in Plautus and Terence cf. Allardice-Junks and Junks *s.v.*

CHAPTER III

THE POSITION IN COMEDY OF ADVERBS OF DEGREE ENDING IN IM, ITER, ITUS, IS, ENTER

Adfatim (Lodge *s.v.* Wölfflin *Comp.* 22, Gehlhardt *op. cit.* 27; with the partitive genitive Raspe *op. cit.* 41, Loch *De genetivi ap. prisc. script. Lat. usu* [G. Prge. Bartenstein 1880] 19 ff., Schaaf *De genetivi usu Pl.* [Halle 1881] 17-18) precedes in 5 examples,[1] follows in 3. The formula *adfatimst* occurs in all the cases of precedence except Liv. And. 4, however cf. est adfatim *Trin.* 1185. In 2 of the postponements (*Poen.* 534, 867), the adverb stands at the end of the verse, in the third (*Trin.* 1185) at the beginning of a colon.[2] In 4 passages *adfatim* is used with the partitive genitive : genitive, est, *adfatim Trin.* 1185 (at the colon); genitive, *adfatimst* (at the end of the verse) *Cist.* 231, *Mil.* 980, *adfatimst* (at the beginning of the verse), genitive *Men.* 457; cf. Liv. 34:37 ádfatim ést hominúm, but Apul. *Met.* 2:19 utensilium pollémus áffatím. Raspe says that the position of *adfatim* in such groups varies according to the amount of emphasis it receives, but it is possible that its order even in the prose passages above is influenced more by rhythmical considerations than by emphasis.

Mediocriter precedes in one example *Heaut.* 286, being the initial word in the verse (cf. Pac. *tr.* 105 where it is the final word in the verse with the modified word deferred), follows in 2 examples, (in both standing at the end of the verse[3]) *Merc.* 237, *And.* 59. With haud

[1] adfatim: *Bacch.* 497, *Cist.* 231, *Men.* 457, *Mil.* 980, Liv. And. 4. Brix-Niemeyer ed.[5] *Men.* 91 hold that *adfatim* should be written separately, *fatim* being a substantive, using Paul. Fest. p. 11 where *adfatim* is explained by *lassitudinem* and Serv. on *Aen.* 1:123 where *fatim* is an independent form. Brix grants that in such places as *Mil.* 980, where the form appears with a genitive, *adfatim* is an adverb.

[2] The possibility of metrical influence in the postponement of *adfatim* is strengthened by the comparison with the not infrequent position of *interim* (of similar quantitative form) at the end of the verse: *Mil.* 1121, *Rud.* 792, 1261, *Trin.* 757 etc., and at the beginning of the verse *Men.* 190.

[3] Other adverbs ending in *iter* are seen to have a frequent habitat at the end of the verse. See below pp. 77–8 for the tendency of such words toward postponement in comedy; also above pp. 3, 5 n. for the tendency in Cato.

mediocriter *Merc.* 237, cf. the position of other negatived adverbs at the end of the verse or colon, see above p. 12.

Ampliter (Lodge *s.v.*, Hodgman *Cl. Rev.* [1903] 296-303 for *ampliter* at the end of the verse) precedes in no example, follows in 7. It occurs 6 times at the end of the verse.[4] In Pomp. Bon. 54 aptate, pueri, munde atque || ampliter convivium, *ampliter* may be postponed because of the length of the phrase *munde atque ampliter*, which constitutes a single unit of thought; cf. *Merc.* 99 where *ampliter* paired[5] with another adverb stands postponed at the end of the verse; also Acc. *tr.* 282 where *ampliter* standing at the end of the verse is one of a pair of adverbs which separated bracket the verse. In the colloquial language of Apuleius, *ampliter* both precedes and follows the modified word: *Met.* 1:21 ampliter nummatus but 10:26 gustávit ámplitér (at the end of a clause). In the latter passage the postponement of the adverb may be determined by the rhythmical effect.

Largiter (Gehlhardt *op. cit.* 35; with the partitive genitive Lindsay *Synt. of Pl.* [Oxford 1907] 16, Schaaf *op. cit.* 17-8, Loch *De genetivi ap. prisc. script. Lat. usu* 19 ff.) precedes in 3 examples[6] (1 with separation), in all standing at a metrical pause; it follows in 3, in all standing at a metrical pause (*Epid.* 485, *Most.* 438, *Rud.* 1188). In 4 passages, it is used with the partitive genitive, its variety in position apparently being connected with metrical needs : *largiter* (end of colon), genitive, verb *Rud.* 1315; verb, genitive, *largiter* (end of verse) *Rud.* 1188; genitive, *largiter* (end of verse), deferred and separated verb *Truc.* 903 (Seyffert's correction and Lindsay's punctuation); *largiter*, verb, genitive Dec. Lab. 8. The order in *Rud.* 1188 with *largiter* at the end of clause is not confined to passages restricted by meter—cf. Petr. 71 poma volo sint circa cineres meos et vinearum largiter; here

[4] *Bacch.* 677, *Cas.* 501, *Cist.* 598, *Merc.* 99, *Mil.* 758, *Stich.* 692.

[5] Paired adverbs are also postponed at the end of the verse *Asin.* 755, *Capt.* 1017, *Epid.* 491, etc.; at the beginning of the verse *Bacch.* 302; within the verse *Cas.* 855, cf. Cic. *ad Q. fr.* 1:1 dici aequabiliter et diligenter; they precede the modified word (the pair being frequently placed at the beginning or the end of the verse) *Amph.* 289, 349, *Aul.* 788 etc.; cf. *ad Fam.* 10:3 studiose diligenterque curabo; they are separated by the modified word in artificial arrangement *Curc.* 518, *Mil.* 706, *Pers.* 806 etc.; cf. Apul. *Met.* 6:19 te comiter excipiet ac benigne; by other single words *Poen.* 1223, *Pseud.* 574; by the verse *Men.* 466–7, Caec. 42–3; by the colon *Mil.* 1088; separated at the beginning and at the end of the clause *Curc.* 518. For asyndeton in paired adverbs of similar meaning, see Gehlhardt *op. cit.* 45 n.

[6] largiter: for examples in Plautus, cf. Allardice-Junks *s.v.*, Dec. Lab. 8.

we may observe the rhythmical character of the passage—almost purely trochaic. The adverb seems to be flexible also in its position in the prose of Apuleius, preceding in *Met.* 9:22 mensa largiter instructa, but following in 8:26 appositis lárgitér cibáriís with some rhythmical effect.

For *pariter*, also ending in *iter*, see below p. 68 under comparative words.

Funditus (Lodge *s.v.*) precedes in 2 examples,[7] standing at the caesura, cf. also Acc. *tr.* 21; it follows in 2 examples standing at the end of the verse—*Bacch.* 560, *And.* 244.

Largitus in its one occurrence stands at the end of the verse Afr. 212.

Medullitus (Fay ed. *Most.* v. 243 for meaning of "utterly") precedes in *Most.* 243 standing at the end of the colon, follows in *Truc.* 439 standing at the end of the verse.[8]

Nimis (Hand *op. cit.* IV 208, Ramsay ed. *Most. Exc.* 236, Gehlhardt *op. cit.* 12, Leo *Pl. Forsch.*[2] [Berlin 1912] 296 for the weakness of the ultimate syllable of *nimis* and like words and their rare occurrence under the accent) precedes in 140 examples[9] (44 with separation), follows in 7. Wölfflin *Comp.* 24 says "Die Stellung von nimis ist schon bei Plautus eine freie, indem es dem Adjectiv ausnahmsweise auch nachgesetzt wird wie *Amph.* 828, *Cas.* 529." There is no authority for his intrusion of *nimis* in *Cas.* 828, while in the *Amph.* passage it stands at the end of the verse.

In their extensive use of this adverb, the comic poets repeat a number of phrases : nimis stulte *Men.* 81, 701, *Merc.* 501, Titin. 107;

[7] funditus: *Most.* 684, *Trin.* 165. With the group *omnes funditus Most.* 684 cf. *ad Fam.* 8:16 tuosque omnis funditus evertas, likewise the frequent juxtaposition of these words in Lucretius. Merrill ed. *de Rerum Nat.* 1:478 says that at times in the occurrence of this group, it is difficult to say whether the adverb refers forward or backward. The position of *funditus* in Lucretian verse, as in comedy, is frequently a result of its metrical adaptability, since in 15 out of its 16 occurrences, it is confined to the fifth foot.

[8] Other adverbs of four syllables or more ending in *itus* found at the end of the verse are *divinitus Amph.* 1105, *Curc.* 248, *humanitus Heaut.* 99, Sext. Turp. 165, Afr. 290, *oculitus* Pl. *fr.* 67, *radicitus Most.* 1111, *exradicitus Most.* 1112.

[9] nimis: for examples in Plautus and Terence, cf. Allardice-Junks and Junks *s.v.*, Naev. 45, 50, 55, 59, 90, 91, Caec. 131, 250 (twice), Sext. Turp. 34, Titin. 107. Menge *op. cit.* 390 mentions *nimis* among the adverbs easily separated from the modified word, other adverbs in this category being *quam, tam, satis, minus.*

nimis iracunde etc. *Asin.* 470, *Bacch.* 594, *Men.* 696, *Poen.* 541; nimis diu *Epid.* 322, *Merc.* 166, *Most.* 292, *Pers.* 822, *Pseud.* 687, and in tmesis *Mil.* 1310; nimis longum loquor *Epid.* 376, 665, *Pers.* 167; nimis longus sermost *Men.* 760, *Trin.* 806; nimis lepide *Aul.* 497, *Cas.* 773, *Cist.* 312, *Mil.* 925, *Poen.* 666, *Rud.* 360 (*nimis* in each passage being the initial word in clause and verse or colon), also nimis lepida *Curc.* 167, nimis velim etc. *Asin.* 589, *Most.* 266, *Pseud.* 598, *Rud.* 511, 662, *Stich.* 312, 713, *Eun.* 786; nimis paene *Pers.* 114, *Rud.* 1204, cf. Pac. *tr.* 260 (see below p. 53); nimis quam *Capt.* 102, *Most.* 511, *Truc.* 468 (see below p. 74); nimis tandem *Pers.* 169, *Pseud.* 916, Caec. 131 and in tmesis *Men.* 696, *Mil.* 1062; nimis numero Sext. Turp. 34 but numero nimis Afr. 320 at end of verse; nimis bene *Men.* 1019 and in tmesis *Epid.* 209, *Stich.* 374 at end of verse; nimis male *Aul.* 208, (Sonnenschein emends *Most.* 278 to nimis male) and in tmesis *Aul.* 61, *Capt.* 913, *Pseud.* 912, *Rud.* 920; see Hand *loc. cit.* for nimis bene, nimis male.

Six of the postponements of *nimis*[10] are probably connected with its metrical adaptability to the end of the verse. In *Adel.* 522 diem | misere nimis cupio—degere, Spengel and Bentley read *nimis misere*, Dz.-Kauer ed.[2] *Kr. Anhang.* omit *nimis* regarding it as a possible gloss on *misere* (cf. Müller's emendation of the reading of the codd. in *Cist.* 689 to *nimis—misere*). However, it is possible that *nimis* is not to be regarded as postponed with *misere* in the above passage, but as a modifier equally with *misere* of *cupio;* see Gehlhardt *op. cit.* 45 for instances in Plautus of asyndeton with adverbs of similar meaning. Sloman *ad loc.* says that Terence often thus links two adverbs together, and Cowles asserts that the use of the two adverbs lends double emphasis. The possibility of asyndeton is strengthened by the fact that both *nimis* and *misere* used singly are found to modify *cupio*: *Capt.* 102 nimis quam cupio, *Adel.* 698 misere—cupio. As examples of the flexibility in position of *nimis* in Cicero we find : *ad Fam.* 1:9 nimis amarent, but also *de Repub.* 2:22 nec valeret nimis. Hand *op. cit.* IV 208 is probably right when he says that *nimis* precedes or follows the modified word with no difference of meaning.

Satis-sat (Gehlhardt *op. cit.* 23, Loch *De genetivi ap. prisc. script. Lat. usu* 19 ff.) precedes in 265 examples[11] (75 with separation), follows in 47. Gehlhardt wrongly asserts that the shortened form is always placed before "quippe quae postposita facile careret omni gravitate." In commenting on this, Seyffert *Burs. Jahresb.* (1895) 296 mentions 3 cases of postponed *sat*, all having the verse-accent : *Most.* 247, *Pers.* 559, *Stich.* 484.

Because of its convenient pyrrhic form, *satis* enters into several favorite positions in the verse: 52 times at the beginning of verse or colon, 16 times as the second word in the verse after a monosyllable, 8 times as the penultimate word in the verse followed by a dissyllabic word. For its frequent use at the end of the verse or colon, see below p. 34.

Satis-sat enters into several word-combinations which are rarely separated. It is frequently combined with forms of *esse.* Sat est occurs 27 times at the end of an iambic verse or colon,[12] twice at the beginning of a verse, 3 times within a verse. Verbum sat est stands at the end of a verse: *Bacch.* 878, *Rud.* 866, *Truc.* 644; and dictum sapienti sat est *Pers.* 729, *Phorm.* 541. Satis est occurs 15 times within the verse, also satis[13] superquest[14] *Amph.* 168; but ést satis at the end of the verse 4 times (*Aul.* 239, *Cist.* 289, *Men.* 390, *Stich.* 95); satis sum 3 times within the verse, but súm satis at the end of the verse *Aul.* 166, [*Capt.* 324]; satis sit twice within the verse, but sít satis at the end of the verse *Men.* 220; satis sunt twice within the verse (also *Poen.* 1248 with separation), and at the beginning of the colon *Bacch.* 992, but súnt satis at the end of the verse *Men.* 952;

[10] *Amph.* 828, *Aul.* 272, *Mil.* 1348, *Most.* 576, *Heaut.* 440 (see below p. 84 for other examples of the bracketed verse), Afr. 320.

[11] satis-sat: for examples in Plautus and Terence, cf. Allardice-Junks and Junks, *s.v.*, Afr. 227, 276, Caec. 70, 76, 174, 241, Sext. Turp. 86, 144, 151 Titin. 37, 99, Pomp. Bon. 44, *Inc. fab.* 79, 89 (twice), <105>.

[12] *Asin.* 707, *Aul.* 560, *Bacch.* 878, *Cist.* 122, *Curc.* 85, *Epid.* 346, *Mil.* 750, *Pers.* 729, *Poen.* 288, *Rud.* 794, 866, *Stich.* 710, *Trin.* 803, 814, *Truc.* 22, 542, 644, *And.* 170, *Eun.* 706, *Phorm.* 211, 541, 604, *Hec.* 236, *Adel.* 834, Caec. 174, 241, Sext. Turp. 144; see Brock *Quaest. gram. capita duo* (Dorpati 1897) 94 for the tendency of *sat est* and certain other adverbial expressions to stand at the end of the verse.

[13] Leo *Pl. Forsch.*[2] 297 gives *Amph.* 168 as an example of the rare accentuation of *satis* on the weak ultima. For further discussion of such accentuation, see Dz.-Hauler ed.[4] *Phorm. Krit. Bemerk. v.* 915, Schraeder *De partic. ne, anne, nonne, ap. Pl. pros.* (Halle 1885) 29–30.

[14] Cf. *satis superque:* Liv. 41:25, Catull. 7:2, Sall. *B. J.* 75:7, Tac. *Dial.* 4, Hor. *Epod.* 17:19 etc., satis—superque Verg. *Aen.* 2:642, satisque | ac super Ov. *Met.* 4:429, satis et super Catull. 7:10.

satis es within the verse *Truc.* 792, but és satis at the end of the verse *Men.* 312, *Most.* 293. The separation in *Cas.* 176 satis semper est (a lyrical verse) is probably a compulsory one arising from the inadaptability of satis est to the end of the iambic verse. Sat est appears once in Cato (*Agr. Cult.* 93:1), otherwise satis est, etc. (A question might arise as to whether Cato possibly said "sat est," though he wrote "satis est," and whether the MSS of Cato might conceal the elided *is*.) The longer form is also very much more common in the dramatists.

Other word-groups with *sat(is)* are : satis habeo[15] 14 times, but habeam satis Caec. 127 (see below p. 35), sat(is) scio 20 times, sát scio being peculiar to the end of the verse (*Aul.* 561, *Merc.* 382, *Mil.* 1196, *Eun.* 487, *Phorm.* 636, *Adel.* 339, 360, 526, sát sciat Titin. 99); satis certó scio also peculiar to the end of the verse 5 times, cf. *Mil.* 586 sat edepol certó scio; satis placet 8 times; satis credo(is) 5 times; satis sapit 4 times; sat(is) sic 3 times also *Phorm.* 211 satine sic, but *Heaut.* 523 sic, satis (at end of verse); satis diu 3; satis recte 4, also satin(e) recte 3; satis scite etc. 4; satis iam[16] 11 (7 times initial in verse); iam sat(is) 10, also iam ut satis *Truc.* 330; ut satis 3, but satis ut[17] *Bacch.* 130, *Hec.* 257, also satis iam ut *Merc.* 1002; si satis 3, also si tibi sat *Most.* 224, but satis si[18] *Mil.* 877; plus satis 3 (see below p. 65), also at end of verse *Eun.* 85 (cf. *Phorm.* 797, *Cist.* 122); satis quam *Capt.* 639, *Hec.* 645; on the latter passage Becker *Stud. Stud.* I 309 suggests the likeness of *satis quam* to *nescioquam* because of the enclitic nature of *quam*.

The partitive genitive with *sat(is)* furnishes various types of collocations. The largest number of examples has *satis*, verb, genitive: *Bacch.* 1182, *Mil.* 584, 718, 1063, *Pers.* 854a, *Stich.* 91, 620

[15] For satis habeo, est, scio, see Hodgman *op. cit.* 296 ff., Radford *AJP* XXV 272.

[16] Cf. the similar groups with *iam:* magis iam 2, iam magis 1, minus iam 2, plus iam 3, prope iam 3, nimio iam 2 etc. Lilienthal *De genere quodam traiect. ap. script. Lat.* (Rössell 1859) 12 gives *iam* among the words that may intervene between substantive and modifier.

[17] For the postponement of *ut*, see Menge *op. cit.* 389, who mentions the postponement of *ut* with *vix, paene, prope*, negatives and pronouns. Similar examples of *ut* postponed wih adverbs of degree are *And.* 524, *Heaut.* 98, *Hec.* 257; Cato *Agr. Cult.* 40:2 quam maxume uti lentum. Abbott ed. *Letters of Cicero* 235 n. states that *ut* thus placed in the middle of a clause lays greater emphasis on the words that precede.

[18] Other examples of *si* postponed with adverbs of degree are minus si *Mil.* 876; modo si *Capt.* 996, *Adel.* 205; paulum si *Eun.* 672.

(Lindsay's reading), *Truc.* 259, [*Adel.* 313], Caec. 70, Cato *Agr. Cult.* 114:1. The second group has *satis*, genitive, verb: *Bacch.* 158, *Capt.* 125, *Rud.* 190 (Müller's emendation), 583, *Stich.* 397, *And.* 821, *Phorm.* 436 (cf. *Capt.* 125), *Agr. Cult.* 60:1. Since the first and second types appear in Cato, both were probably good prose usage. A third group has genitive, *sat(is)*, verb: *Heaut.* 225 (cf. however *Bacch.* 636b), *Stich.* 710, *And.* 903, *Heaut.* 920, *Phorm.* 1029, *Hec.* 236 (cf. the similar order *ad Fam.* 9:16 praesidi non satis esse, but also that of *in Catil.* 4:23 satis erit praesidi). We also find verb, *sat*, genitive *Bacch.* 636b (cf. however *Heaut.* 225). At the end of the verse are several orders: genitive, verb, *satis Most.* 1030, 1165; verb, genitive, *satis Mil.* 1154; *satis* with deferred verb and genitive *Trin.* 247 (by Lindsay's arrangement). The variety of order in the following partitive expressions is interesting : *And.* 903 supplici satis ést patri |, *Phorm.* 1029 supplici satis ést mihi |, *Pers.* 854a, [*Adel.* 313] satis—supplici[19] (in both passages *satis* being at the beginning of the verse), *Most.* 1165 supplici—satis (*satis* at the end of the verse).

The position of *satis* when used to modify infinitive phrases also shows variety. Within the verse we may find the order—adverb, infinitive, verb: *Mil.* 964 satis responsare || nequeas, *Poen.* 458 satis habere noluit, cf. Acc. *tr.* 247 sat fingi neque dici potest; or the order—verb, adverb, infinitive: *Poen.* 1294 nequeo te satis conplecti |, *Eun.* 547 nequeo satis | mirari[20] neque conicere, *Eun.* 1010 non possum satis narrare, *Adel.* 544 nequeo satis discernere |, cf. the order of the similar passage Liv. 21:56 satis discernere possent. At the end of the verse, we may find the order—verb, infinitive, adverb: *Capt.* 799, *Trin.* 1132, *Eun.* 661, *Adel.* 374 nequeo mirari satis (cf. however *Eun.* 547 above), *Curc.* 188 nequent complecti satis (cf. however *Poen.* 1294 above), *Capt.* 932 referre gratiam possim satis; also verb, adverb, deferred infinitive *Hec.* 645 nequeo satis |—proloqui.

Thirty-five of the postponements of *satis* are probably connected

[19] Hale-Buck *op. cit.* 627:3 say that after neuters and adverbs, the genitive of the whole is usually held back for several words.

[20] The order of adverbs in modification of this and similar infinitive phrases varies also in classical authors: we frequently find adverb, infinitive, verb, *ad Att.* 1:17 satis explicare non possum, Vell. Pat. 2:75:2 satis mirari queat, *pro Sest.* 63:134 satis mirari non queo; or infinitive, adverb, verb, *de Sen.* 16:55 admirari satis non possum, *ad Att.* 16:7 admirari satis non potui, *de Orat.* 1:36:165 mirari satis non queo; or verb, infinitive, adverb, Nep. *Ages.* 8:1 non potuerunt admirari satis.

with its metrical adaptability[21] to the end of the verse or colon. The comparison of the varying order of word-groups containing *satis* when placed at the end of and within the verse seems to point to such an influence: Pomp. Bon. 157 in tuto satis, cf. however *Eun.* 577 satis tuto, *Phorm.* 818; *Amph.* 904 sapias satis, cf. however *Cist.* 454 satis sapit, *Trin.* 636; *Men.* 312 sanu's satis, *Men.* 390, *Cist.* 289, cf. however, *satin(e) sanus* 11 times (see below p. 76), but it is to be observed that *sanus satis* occurs also within the verse in a lyrical passage *Bacch.* 627b (see below p. 35); *Rud.* 817 dixi satis, cf. *Pers.* 615 satis est dictum, *Poen.* 607, also *Pers.* 214 with separation by an enclitic; *Most.* 293 ornata's satis, cf. however *Poen.* 214 satis—ornantur; it is to be observed that the order ornandi satis *Poen.* 215 occurs also within the verse (for stylistic reasons, see below); *And.* 91 spectatum satis, *Adel.* 893, cf. however *Poen.* 823 satis spectatumst, *Stich.* 628, also *And.* 820, *Pers.* 171 with separation by an enclitic. For the order of *satis* in modification of an infinitive phrase within and at the end of the verse, see above p. 33; for *satis est* etc. within and at the end of the verse, see above p. 31; for *supplici satis*, see above p. 33.

Satis postponed stands at the beginning of the verse *Adel.* 309 non intellego || satis quae loquitur. (Here it must be remembered that *satis* has a favorite habitat at the beginning of a verse, and *intellego* at the end of a verse.) Vahlen *op. cit.* 6 ff. uses this passage as an illustration of the copulation of two verses by an adverb placed at the end of the first verse or at the beginning of the second: cf. *ad Att.* 9:2 satis intellexi for the precedence of *satis* with the same verb. *Satis* postponed stands at the beginning of a colon *Bacch.* 992 (see below); at the caesura *Merc.* 228 somnis egi satis, also *Adel.* 774, Caec. 127 (see below).

Stylistic reasons at times seem to influence the order of *satis* : Figura Etymologica—*Poen.* 214-5 satis hae res ornantur | neque eis ulla ornandi satís satietas est, a lyrical passage where besides the juxtaposition of cognate words, the chiastic arrangement satis ornantur—ornandi satis in succeeding verses is probably intentional. Besides figura etymologica, there seems to be an intentional gain in

[21] *Amph.* 904, 1059, *Aul.* 166, 239, *Capt.* [324], 799, 932, *Cist.* 289, 613, *Curc.* 188, *Men.* 220, 312, 390, 952, *Mil.* 1154, *Most.* 293, 1030, 1165, *Poen.* 764, *Rud.* 817, *Stich.* 95, *Trin.* 556, 1132, *And.* 91, 692, 914, *Heaut.* 940, 981, *Eun.* 661, *Phorm.* 628, *Hec.* 162, *Adel.* 374, 893, Caec. 4, Pomp. Bon. 157.

sound-effects in the occurrence of *sáti* in the same metrical position in successive feet in *Hec.* 594 perfuncta || satis sum, satias iam tenet; with *satis* inserted between the perfect participle[22] and the enclitic verb, cf. *Adel.* 774 (after a verse-pause), also Verg. *Aen.* 9:356 exhaustum satis est, *de Fin.* 4:15 explanatum satis erat; with *sat* in like position *Pers.* 559; with other adverbs *Capt.* 896, *Men.* 927, Pl. *fr.* 13, *Heaut.* 617, also *de Amic.* 4:15 actum optime est.

Chiasmus—*Bacch.* 992 qui satis videat grandes || satis sunt (for the group *satis sunt* etc. see above p. 31; for *satis* at a verse-pause see above p. 31), cf. however *ad Att.* 8:14 satis grandem; Caec. 127 si linguas decem | habeam, vix habeam || satis te qui laudem (see below for *vix satis* in tmesis).

Interlocked and Triadic Order—*Pers.* 559 ea urbs moenita || muro sat erit simplici (with attendant alliteration), however cf. Liv. 43:1 satis munitam, Apul. *Met.* 4:9 satis munita; through the artificial interlocked order, *muro* preserves the same order as in 553 munitum || muro, while *sat* falls easily into the familiar word-group with forms of *esse*; cf. also *Bacch.* 992, *Hec.* 594. Such is also the case in *Adel.* 774 quod vix sedatum || satis est where possibly for metrical reasons *vix satis* is in tmesis as in Caec. 127 above (for *vix satis* in tmesis, cf. Liv. 27:45 vix quod satis, in juxtaposition *ad Att.* 4:16). There may be an intentional tmesis of *nil sat* by the medial verb in *Stich.* 484 quoniam nil processi || sat ego hac, a corrupt passage where Seyffert corrects the MSS *at* to *sat*, and Fennell writes *igitur* (cf. *Heaut.* 337 for *nil satis* in juxtaposition).

Other postponements of *sat(is)* are: *Bacch.* 627b sanus satis non es (a lyrical passage), cf. *sanus satis* etc. at the end of the verse, but also *satin(e) sanus* (see above p. 34); *Bacch.* 636b nunc agitas sat tute tuarum rerum (a lyrical passage), but *Heaut.* 225 suarum rerum sat agitat; *Stich.* 774 saltatum satis pro vinost.[23]

[22] The order of *satis* used elsewhere in comedy with the perfect participle is as follows: *satis*, participle, enclitic verb 11 times; *satis*, enclitic verb, participle 7; participle, enclitic verb, *satis* (at the end of verse) 2; the order of *satis* when modifying another adverb which in turn modifies a participle may be that in *And.* 475 non sat commode divisa sunt, *Poen.* 285, cf. *ad Fam.* 2:10 satis probe ornatum; or in *Most.* 254 satis compositumst commode. That such variety of order is not due wholly to metrical convenience, may be inferred from the freedom in position of adverbs of manner used with such verbal phrases in Cato's prose (see above p. 3 n.).

[23] It is possible that in *Stich.* 774 *satis* may be regarded as a case of precedence in modification of the phrase *pro vinost*, as Riley translates, "they have fairly danced the

The postponement in *Most.* 247[24] si acceptum sát habes (cf. however sat(is) acceptum *Most.* 224, *Merc.* 655, *Pers.* 477, *Truc.* 240, 243) has a parallel in prose diction in *ad Fam.* 10:12 exploratum satis habebat.[25] *Satis* when used with such periphrastic forms elsewhere precedes the whole verbal phrase: *Bacch.* 1202 satin ego istuc habeo offirmatum, *Pers.* 214 satis iam dictum habeo, *Trin.* 838 satis partum habeo, also other adverbs *Men.* 119 nimium ego te habui delicatam, *Most.* 870 probe tectum habeo (see Fay ed. *Most.*). In classical Latin, in such periphrastic forms the order may be adverb, participle, *habere*—Caes. *B.C.* 3:84 quo satis perspectum habere, Apul. *Apol.* 87 satis dictum habeo, Sall. *B.C.* 29 satis compertum habebat, *ad Fam.* 10:24 nimium saepe expertum habemus; or adverb, *habere*, participle —*ad Fam.* 13:17 eum satis habes cognitum, Caes. *B. Alex.* 24 bene cognitam habebat; or participle, *habere*, adverb—Petr. 57 constitutum habui nunquam; or participle, adverb, *habere*—*ad Fam.* 10:17 confectum graviter se habuisse, also 10:12 above.

In connection with the fact that, apart from the postponements connected with meter, *satis* is but once postponed with an adjective and that in a lyrical passage (*Bacch.* 627b, see above p. 35), it is of interest to note the statement of Bennett ed. *de Sen. Crit. App.*, who adopts the reading of Müller 1:2:5 satis digne saying, "In Cicero's Speeches and Philosophical Works, according to Merguet's *Lexika*, no instance occurs where satis is postponed after adjectives or adverbs." Elsewhere in classical Latin, we find occasional evidences of its free position with adjectives, as satis magnum *ad Fam.* 14:1, but facetus satis *Brut.* 70:247; satis aequus Liv. 21:7, but aequo satis 21:52. Seyffert-Müller *op. cit.* 13 mentions *satis* among the adverbs which have a tendency to follow if the modified word carries the leading idea; yet in the foregoing examples, it is difficult to detect any difference in emphasis given to the modified word according as the adverb precedes or follows.

wine out"; cf. *Phorm.* 196 satis pro imperio; *Phorm.* 337, 338 pro merito; *Merc.* 370, *Pers.* 10, *Phorm.* 256 satis ex sententia; *Mil.* 781 maxume ad conpendium.

[24] Sonnenschein ed.[2] *Most. crit. n.* omits *Most.* 247 as a mere repetition of v. 224.

[25] The regularity of *sat(is) habere* in the sense of "satisfied" might have contributed to the collocation in *Most.* 247 and *ad Fam.* 10:12. For *habes* as an enclitic to *sat*, see Radford *TAPA* XXXIV 73-4, who states that a dissyllabic word with short penult practically becomes enclitic whenever a monosyllabic word precedes. The periphrastic form *exploratum habebat*, which appears in tmesis in *ad Fam.* 10:12, occurs in juxtaposed order frequently enough in the *Letters* (*ad Fam.* 6:14, 11:6, 11:10-twice) that one could expect it to remain a stable group even when modified by an adverb unless some other influence were at work.

For *satin*, see below p. 76 under adverbs of interrogation.

For the position of *magis* of similar ending and quantitative form (˘˘), see below p. 56 under adverbs of comparison.

Ve(he)menter (Gehlhardt *op. cit.* 22-3) as an adverb of degree precedes in 7 examples[26] (2 with separation), follows in 6. The relatively large number of postponements is possibly connected with the problem of disposing in verse of a word of four syllables with the metrical form ˘ ˘ — ˘ (see above p. 7 and below p. 78 for the same possibility in connection with the postponements of *aliquantum*, *aliquanto*). The following passages present postponements: *Bacch.* 1158 tactus sum || vehementér visco[27] | (with attendant alliteration); *Capt.* 667 adstringite isti sultis || vehementér manus |; *Curc.* 568 vapulare ego te veheménter[28] || iubeo; *Epid.* 276 quasique ames veheménter tu illam ||; *Merc.* 923 máter iratast patri vehementer || (cf. however *Truc.* 545 vehementer—irata, where the adverb stands at the beginning of the verse); *Rud.* 903 fluctuare video || vehementér mare |.

The same freedom in position is seen in its use in classical prose: *ad Fam.* 13:70 vehementer mihi feceris gratum, but 13:68 gratae—vehementer.

[26] ve(he)menter: *Curc.* 724, *Mil.* 205, *Most.* 841, *Truc.* 545, *Eun.* 1069, *Hec.* 488, *Adel.* 682.

[27] With the penultimate position in the verse or colon of *vehementer*, followed by a word of two syllables in *Bacch.* 1158, *Capt.* 667, *Epid.* 276, *Mil.* 205, *Most.* 841, *Rud.* 903, *Eun.* 1069, *Adel.* 682, cf. that of other adverbs in *enter* in *Stich.* 531, Afr. 376, Caec. 135, Nov. 24, Enn. *tr.* 256. Also note the similar position of *aliquantum* of same quantitative form, above p. 8.

[28] With the ultimate position in the colon of *vehementer* in *Curc.* 568, cf. that of other adverbs in *enter* in *Amph.* 339, 837, *Mil.* 465, *Most.* 157, *Poen.* 881, *Stich.* 592. In Cato *Agr. Cult.* adverbs of three or more syllables ending in *enter* precede in 8 examples, follow in 5 (see above p. 5 n.).

CHAPTER IV

The Position in Comedy of Adverbs of Degree Ending in E

Adprime-prime (Lodge *s.v.*, Gehlhardt *op. cit.* 30, Papillon ed.[2] *And.* v. 61) precedes in 9 examples[1] (2 with separation), follows in none. In all the passages save two the adverb stands as the penultimate word in verse and clause, a position not uncommon with adverbs of degree (see below p. 84): adpríme nobilem, nobilis (*Eun.* 952, *Cist.* 125), ádprimé probus, probo (*Rud.* 735, *Trin.* 373), primé cata (*Mil.* 794), ádprime obsequentem (*Hec.* 247). The conjecture of Salmasius in *Mil.* 794 is supported by Naev. 1, while the emendation of Seyffert (followed by G. S.) in *Truc.* 454 ego prime de me domo docta for cod. prima—dicta gains probability from Varro *R. R.* 3:2 adprime doctus.

Large in its one occurrence precedes the modified word *Aul.* 196.

Longe (Gehlhardt *op. cit.* 28-9) as an adverb of degree precedes in 5 examples[2] (1 with separation), follows in 3. In *Most.* 911 longe omnium longissumast, the adverb precedes the superlative (cf. Caes. *B. G.* 1:2, 1:23 etc.), but is postponed in Liv. 44:31 gentis munitissima longe est. In *Asin.* 205 [longe aliam, inquam, praebes] it precedes the pronoun (cf. Caes. *B. G.* 3:9, Lucret. 5:1030, Cato *Orig.* 17:3), but is postponed in Lucil. 9:245-6 intro aliud longe esse atque intus sic et aput se longe alid est. In *Truc.* 171 sed longe aliter est amicus atque amator, it precedes *aliter*; but is postponed *Epid.* 579 aliter catuli || longe olent, aliter suis, where the postponement furthers the ἀπὸ κοινοῦ construction. In *Asin.* 629 ut vostrae fortunae meis praecedunt, Libane, longe |, the postponement of *longe* while promoting the alliterative and metrical effects, may well be an artistic conceit on the poet's part to represent through the word-order the extent of the distinction in the fortunes of Libanus; cf. its precedence Liv. 41:23 favore Macedonium longe praestitit. In *Adel.* 65 et errat longe || mea quidem sententia,[3] the postponement of the adverb at

[1] adprime : for examples in Plautus and Terence cf. Allardice-Junks and Junks *s.v.*, Naev. 1.

[2] longe: [*Asin.* 205], *Bacch.* 1089, *Most.* 911, *Truc.* 171, Naev. 16.

[3] *Adel.* 65 errat longe may be compared with *Most.* 952 erras pervorse, pater; a passage which Gehlhardt *op. cit.* 48 cites as an illustration of the freedom in order of adverbs which modify verbs of a related significance.

the caesura—probably to avoid hiatus—may be compared with its precedence Petr. 54 longe aberravit suspicio.

Inpense (Gehlhardt *op. cit.* 35) in its one occurrence precedes the modified word *Epid.* 566.

Valide -valde (Gehlhardt *op. cit.* 20-21) precedes in 9 examples,[4] follows in 3. It modifies only verbs except in *Pseud.* 145 valide varia, its usage here being attributed by Wölfflin (*Comp.* 9) to alliteration. The postponements of *val(i)de* seem to involve metrical considerations The short form stands after the verse pause *Most.* 974 liberavit? liberavit || valde, triginta minis (cf. *Pseud.* 344); the long form before the verse pause *Merc.* 42 amare valide, *Merc.* 48 lacerari valide suam rem, illius augerier, where the postponement of the adverb allows the two infinitives to stand in balance at the two ends of the verse. When preceding the modified word, *val(i)de* stands after the verse pause *Cist.* 298, *Mil.* 852. The postponement of *valde* in later prose and verse is not uncommon: *ad Q. fr.* 2:1 approbata valde sententia, Catull. 69:8 mala valde est.

Sane (Gehlhardt *op. cit.* 21 Wölfflin *Comp.* 24, Peter ed. *Cic. Brut. Exc.* VII [1839] for uses of *sane*) when used as an adverb of degree precedes in 8 examples[5] (1 with separation), follows in 11. The inclusion of *sane* as an adverb of degree is open to question. Loch *Z. Gebr. d. Imp. b. Pl.* 18 interprets *sane* with the imperative as "immerhin," see also Elmer[6] ed. *Phorm.* v. 667, Ashmore, Schuckburgh ed. *Heaut.* v. 832, Gray ed. *Asin.* v. 464, etc. If Gehlhardt is consistent in including it when so used under adverbs of degree, the original quantitative nature of the adverb is felt only in adding emphasis to the command, as in the case of *modo, adeo, dum.* Editors vary greatly in the interpretation of this word when used elsewhere with a verb. In the stereotyped phrases sane volo, sane censeo (included by Gehlhardt), Morris ed. *Pseud.* v. 664, Ashmore, Schuckburgh, Bennett ed.

[4] valide-valde: *Amph.* 1062, 1130, *Cist.* 298, *Merc.* 103, *Mil.* 852, *Pers.* 427, *Pseud.* 145, *Rud.* 303, Pl. *fr.* 99.

[5] sane: *Asin.* 8, *Merc.* 541, *Mil.* 1116, *Poen.* 284, *Stich.* 395, *Heaut.* 524, *Hec.* 143, *Adel.* 783.

[6] In a personal letter, Professor Elmer expresses his doubt as to whether the Romans ever felt *sane* as distinctly meaning "very." According to him, it started with the idea "soundly," then "beyond all doubt"; *i.e.* difficile sane would mean "difficult beyond all doubt," which would imply "very difficult," "very" however not being a close literal translation of the adverb.

de Sen. 2:6 treat the adverb as an asseverative. Sane sapio etc. (included by Gehlhardt), Palmer ed. *Amph.* v. 448 translates as "in sound senses," while Nixon ed. *Pl.* (*Loeb Cl. Libr.* 1916) translates it in *Cas.* 740a as "really."

When *sane* is used with adjectives and adverbs, many editors are inclined to treat it as an adverb of degree. Lindsay in *Capt.* 188 (see below), maintains that *sane* has the sense of *valde* (referring to Charisius p. 218, 8 K), and Gehlhardt *loc. cit.* makes *asper sane* equivalent to the superlative while Morris and Barber give the word a concessive force (see editions of *Capt.*). Gehlhardt in *Asin.* 386 takes *sane* with *amicus*, but Nixon treats it as an asseverative. The quantitative force is given to *sane* by Fairclough, Sturtevant, Freeman-Sloman in editions *And.* 848 bene sane (Ashmore reads "indeed"), by Bond-Walpole in ed.[3] *Phorm.* 999 recte sane, by West ed. *Heaut.* 524 sane bona (Gray and Ashmore read "certainly"), by Nutting in ed. *Trin.* 783 scite hercle sane (Dz. Hauler in ed.[4] *Phorm.* 542 consider *sane* as a part of the oath). Abbott ed. *Letters of Cicero* 67 n. mentions the colloquial usage in Cicero of *sane* with adjectives and adverbs; cf. also Bennett ed. *de Sen.* 6:16 grandem sane, Johnston-Kingery ed. *Cic. Orations and Letters* (1910) *in Catil.* 2:10 sane varium. In this study, while in but few of its occurrences *sane* is classified as an adverb of degree, the uncertainty of interpretation in each case is conceded.

In the following group of examples, *sane* postponed in modification of an adjective stands at a metrical pause in the verse: *Capt.* 188 asper meus victus sanest .|| sentisne essitas? where the postponement aids in an effective grouping of the sibilant and nasal sounds in the verse. (With the above order of *sane* juxtaposed with *est* at a metrical pause, cf. *Asin.* 646, *Cist.* 331, *Adel.* 371, the adverb in all these passages probably being asseverative. See below p. 85 for the penultimate position in the clause of *sane* in *Capt.* 188 and *Cist.* 331.) *Phorm.* 920 invitum sane || mulierem ab se amittere where *sane*, inserted in the speech as originally dictated (v. 919), helps to express the additional mental strain befitting the father, while its postponement at the metrical pause enables the repeated speech to preserve more closely the word-order of the original in clause and verse.

In the following group of examples, *sane* postponed in modification of another adverb, stands at a metrical pause in the verse : *Pers.* 447 sapienter sane ||, *Trin.* 783 scite hercle sane ||. (In *Phorm.* 542 sane hercle pulchre suades, *sane* is probably not connected with *pulchre* but with *hercle*, see Dz.-Hauler ed.[4] *Phorm. Krit. Bemerk.* 255; sane hércle occurs also *Eun.* 607, *Hec.* 459, sáne pol *And.* 229, hércle sane *Trin.* 783.) The colloquial recte sane (with varying accentuation) occurs *Heaut.* 538, 581, *Eun.* 981, *Phorm.* 999 (always at a metrical pause); bene sane *And.* 848, *Adel.* 586 (at the end of the colon), bene-sane *Hec.* 178, cf. sane-bene *Stich.* 395, also sane bene, the reading of P in *Most.* 761. It is interesting to compare the order of *scite, recte, bene* when modified by *sat(is)*—an undisputed adverb of degree of different quantitative form: *Trin.* 786 satis scite, *Heaut.* 996 sat recte, *Epid.* 5, *Rud.* 829, Acc. *tr.* 87 satis recte, *Most.* 1109 satine recte, *Poen.* 285, *Inc. Com.* 89 satis bene.

The flexibility of *sane* persists in Cicero; *ad Q. fr.* 2:3 sane fortis fuit, but also *ad Fam.* 12:10 fortis sane senatus; *ad Att.* 13:33 sane bene narras but also *Acad.* 1:7 bene sane facis.

While the position of *sane* used with imperatives may not strictly fall within the limits of this discussion (see above p. 39), yet in view of the uncertainty of classification of the adverb, such an investigation may not be beside the question. In its 27 occurrences with the imperative, *sane* precedes twice : *Stich.* 553 sane dato | where the meter seems to require that the adverb precede and not follow, to bring an iambus not a spondee in the end of the verse; *Phorm.* 667 where two readings are offered. While in general the MSS give sane pone ||, yet DGF give pone sane which accords with the extensive postponement of *sane* with imperatives. The transposition of Fleckeisen, pone sane decem minas, and the emendation of Luchs *Stud. Stud.* I 64, pone sane alias decem, agree with this usage. (See below p. 42 n. for the position of other intensive adverbs frequently used with imperatives.)

The postponements of *sane* with imperatives are: i sane—*Amph.* 971, *Asin.* 676, *Aul.* 333, *Epid.* 79, *Pers.* 198, 574, 605, *Rud.* 386, *Trin.* 195, *Adel.* 587; ite sane—*Aul.* 451, age sane—*Men.* 154, *Pseud.* 1326; abi sane—*Amph.* 353, *Rud.* 855, *Stich.* 264, *Heaut.* 588; solve sane—*Epid.* 731, sequere sane—*Merc.* 500; da sane—*Merc.* 677; cedo sane—*Pers.* 500, 773, *Heaut.* 832; nosce sane—*Asin.* 464; in *Amph.* 439 Sosia nolim esse || tu esto sane Sosia, the balance of the forms of *esse* on either side of the diaeresis is possibly intentional. Fourteen of these postponements occur with imperatives[7] at the be-

[7] Cf. the position of other adverbs frequently used with imperatives: *modo* follows *Asin.* 5, cf. *ad Fam.* 8:2, but precedes *Aul.* 608, cf. *ad Fam.* 7:12 (see Dz.-Hauler ed[4].

ginning of a verse or colon; 4 at the end; 4 at the caesura; in *Pers.* 605 the imperative and adverb are divided by the diaeresis. For i sane in prose, see Kühner *Lat. Gr.*[2] I 799.

Solide when used in the sense of "wholly" (see Papillon ed.[2] *And.* v. 964) may be classed as an adverb of degree. It precedes in 2 examples,[8] follows once *And.* 964 hunc scio mea solide solum || gavisurum gaudia, the interlocked order being accompanied by double alliteration and double figura etymologica.[9] (Cf. the opposite order with the same verb *Trin.* 850 solide scio.) Sturtevant joins *solide* with *gavisurum* after the analogy of solidum gaudium *And.* 647. *Solide* follows in the prose of Apul. *Met.* 3:15 formido solide.

Usque, usually local, occasionally has the meaning of "utterly" when used absolutely (see Morris ed. *Capt.* v. 269). So used, it precedes in 9 examples[10] (2 with separation), follows in 5. The postponements are probably connected with the metrical adaptability of *usque*: in *Pseud.* 545 stilis me totum usque || ulmeis conscribito, the adverb seems pleonastic with the preceding modified word, being added in loose colloquial manner to insure a full expression. Alliteration appears both in this example and in *Poen.* 701 ibi ego te replebo || usque ungentum c[h]eumatis, but probably in neither case is it wholly responsible for the postponement of *usque* which is to be found in other examples lacking the alliterative feature; *Eun.* 220 ut defetiger usque, *Mil.* 768 qui admutiletur miles usque || caesariatus with interlocked arrangement (cf. *Capt.* 269 for the opposite order), *Bacch.* 1125 attonsae hae quidem ambae usque sunt (cf. for the opposite order *Bacch.* 1095, *Epid.* 311); the penultimate

Phorm. v. 420, Loch *Z. Gebr. d. Imp. Pl.* 17 for *modo* with imperative); *ergo* follows *Merc.* 907 but precedes *Merc.* 955; *sis* follows *Pseud.* 48 but precedes *Pseud.* 152 (see Lindsay *The Lat. Lang.* [Oxford 1894] 169 for *sis* as an enclitic with imperative); *adeo* follows *And.* 759 but precedes Caec. 34 (by Braune's punctuation, *Obs. gram. et crit. ad usum ita, sic, tam, adeo etc.* [Berlin 1881] 38, cf. Leo's punctuation *Pl. Forsch.*[2] 313); *porro* follows *Trin.* 162 but precedes *Heaut.* 771; *igitur* follows *Poen.* 1356 cf. *ad Fam.* 7:31 but precedes *Pseud.* 1326, cf. *ad Fam.* 10:14; *sic* follows *Men.* 197 but precedes *Stich.* 185. For *dum* as an enclitic appendage to the imperative, see Lindsay *L. L.* 609, Elmer ed. *Phorm.* v. 329; for *age iam, ergo* in Cicero, see Abbott ed. *Letters of Cicero* 161.

[8] solide: *Trin.* 850, 892.

[9] For the figura etymologica as a favorite device in colloquial Latin see Abbott ed. *Letters of Cicero* 126; for other examples of this order, see Kellerhoff *op. cit.* 58-60.

[10] usque: *Bacch.* 1095, *Capt.* 269, *Curc.* 447, *Epid.* 311, *Merc.* 978, *Heaut.* 138, *Adel.* 213, 559, 715.

position of the adverb in the clause with an enclitic verb in the final position has already been observed (see above p. 10).

Minume (Hand *op. cit.* III 608) precedes in 30 examples[11] (11 with separation), follows in none. As the initial word in verse or colon, it occurs 21 times. It occurs in the following groups at the beginning of the verse : *Capt.* 545 edepol mínume míror, *Rud.* 505 pol mínume miror, *Men.* 338 minume hércle mirum, *Adel.* 197 mínume miror (cf. *ad Fam.* 9:12 minime miror), *Heaut.* 525 minuméque miror, *Heaut.* 383 minumeque—miror, *Heaut.* 245, *Hec.* 220. It occurs in the following groups at the end of the verse : *Merc.* 419, *Poen.* 690, *Eun.* 625, *Phorm.* 1033, *Adel.* 342 minume gentium (see Brock *op. cit.* 91 n. for this group at the end of the verse); *Hec.* 409, *Adel.* 625 minumést opus, and the similar *Eun.* 333.

In Cicero, *minime* shows considerable variety in position : *ad Att.* 1:17 minime fuit necessaria, *ad Fam.* 3:8 minime necessarium, *ad Q. fr.* necesse minime fuit.

Maxume (Hand *op. cit.* III 586) precedes in 31 examples[12] (12 with separation), follows in 53.

Maxume, like other words meaning "especially, generally," has a tendency to form logical and sometimes tonal groups or composites with other words of the sentence with which it has a thought-connection, perhaps more often following such words than preceding.[13] A similar tendency exists in English: *e.g.* Jones especially was trustworthy, Jones was especially trustworthy, Jones was trustworthy especially. The first type seems to be rather the most common in Latin, yet the second and third may appear at any time. The composite expressions which result in Latin from such an adherescent tendency of *maxume* have called forth divergent opinions as to the grammatical relations of the words involved; hence in many passages there is a reasonable question as to the precedence or the postponement of the adverb. However, in many of these groups, juxtaposition does not necessarily imply modification.

[11] minume : for examples in Plautus and Terence, cf. Allardice-Junks and Junks *s.v.*, Afr. 319 (emendation of Ribbeck).

[12] maxume : for examples in Plautus and Terence, cf. Allardice-Junks and Junks *s.v.*

[13] With this behavior of *maxume*, cf. that of *fere-ferme* when used in meaning "generally," see below p. 49 n.

The following word-groups illustrate the above tendency: quam maxume—*Heaut.* 50, 788, 997, *Hec.* 51, *Adel.* 926 (in each passage save *Heaut.* 997, at the beginning or end of verse); quam-maxume *Mil.* 788 (end of verse and clause, see below p. 46 n. for tmesis), *Adel.* 501; quam-tam maxume *Merc.* 122, cf. *Agr. Cult.* 64:2; quam-tam-maxume *Mil.* 781, quam maxume-tam *Heaut.* 997, quam-maxume-tam maxume *Adel.* 503; ubi maxume esse || *Most.* 392; tum maxume *Phorm.* 241 (end of verse), cf. *Agr. Cult.* 155; tum-maxume *Amph.* 199 (end of verse)where Palmer construes *maxume* with the verb; hodie maxume *Mil.* 1366 (end of verse); quom maxume *Hec.* 115 (at caesura), cf. *Agr. Cult.* 29; quom-maxume *Amph.* 199 (end of colon), *Amph.* 427 (end of verse) by Palmer's note but Nixon evidently construes *maxume* with the verb, *Phorm.* 241 (see below p. 46), *Adel.* 534 (at caesura); in all the examples of *quom-maxume* save *Phorm.* 241, the adverb at the end of the clause also stands at a critical position in the verse, cf. the behavior of *si-maxume*, see below.

Nunc quom maxume—*Mil.* 1153 (end of verse), *And.* 823, *Phorm.* 204 (*maxume* at beginning of colon), *Adel.* 518 (beginning of verse), see Laing ed. *Phorm.* v. 204, Fairclough ed.[2] *And.* v. 823, Draeger *Hist. Synt.*[2] I 128 etc. for *maxume* as emphatic with *nunc*; while Sloman ed.[2] *Adel.* v. 518 agrees with this idea, he suggests that it might qualify the verb which follows. For the usage in Cicero, see Kelsey ed.[6] *de Sen.* 11, who likens it to *νῦν μάλιστα.*[14]

Si maxume—*Adel.* 340 (end of verse), *Rud.* 1353 (beginning of verse), cf. Cic. *pro Sest.* 30:64 si maxime—vellent; si -maxume *Bacch.* 1001, 1003, *Pseud.* 433 (where Morris would construe *maxume* with *nunc*), *Eun.* 866, *Phorm.* 295. *Maxume* in each passage stands at the end of the clause and also holds a critical position in the verse—4 times at the end, once (*Eun.* 866) at the caesura. For the similar behavior of quom—maxume, see above. See Seyffert *Berl. Phil. Woch.* (1904) 140, Stolz-Schmalz *Lat. Gr.*[4] 592, Dz.-Kauer ed.[2] *Adel.* v. 340 for *si maxume.* According to Dz.-Kauer, *si maxume* closely resembles *quamvis.*[15]

[14] Cf. with the postponement of *maxume* after adverbs of time, that of *μάλα* after *αὐτίκα* Herod. 7:103; Merriam ed. *Herod. ad loc.* notes the usual postponement of *μάλα* with *οὐ, εὖ, αὐτίκα.*

[15] Cf. with *si maxume*, the similar Greek usage *εἰ—τὰ μάλιστα.* Tyler ed. *Dem. de Cor.* 21:3 says that such an addition of *τὰ μάλιστα* changes a conditional to a concessive clause.

However, *maxume* can not always be construed with the temporal adverb or conjunction, although in close proximity to them. Morris ed. *Trin.* v. 664, ed. *Pseud.* v. 433, considers it as a modifier of the whole clause rather than of a single word in *Men.* 1118 ut nunc || maxume memini, *Pseud.* 433 si sint ea vera, ut nunc mos est, maxume | (where Gray ed. *Asin.* v. 208 construes *maxume* with *vera*), *Trin.* 664 quom te || maxume clarum voles (where Brix construes *maxume* with *voles*, and Gray with *clarum*), *Men.* 571 ut hoc utimur maxume more moro | molestoque multum, a lyrical passage (where Brix and Fowler construe *maxume* with *moro*). If Morris is correct in his estimate of the function of the adverb in the first three passages, its postponement from its logical position at the beginning of the clause to a position at the middle or the end of the clause may be connected with its quantitative form. However, his suggestion hardly seems acceptable in *Men.* 571, since it would destroy the chiastic grouping of the modified adjectives which in turn modify *more*, as well as the artificial disposition of words in the triadic group—adverb, noun, modified adjective, an arrangement of some importance in comedy (see below p. 87).

The adaptability of *maxume* (—˘—) to critical positions in the verse already noticeable is further seen in 6 examples where the adverb is the final word in the verse, the modified word being deferred to the following verse: *Cas.* 449, *Vid.* 70, *Heaut.* 788, *Hec.* 160, *Adel.* 340, 501. In these passages, apart from the metrical exigency, there appears to be little or no justification for the separation of the thought by the verse.[16] There may be an intentional touch in *Hec.* 160 res multo maxume | diiunxit illum ab illa where the separation by the verse echoes the idea of separation in the verb. (See below p. 82 for other cases of separation by the verse.)

A large number (37) of the postponements of *maxume* are probably to be explained by metrical convenience; in 30 examples it stands at the end of verse or colon;[17] in 5 at the caesura; in 2 at the beginning

[16] Note the occurrence of *maxumo* and other superlatives of cretic measure in the verse-end with a deferred modified word in which the interruption of the verse-unity seems due to metrical convenience: see Prescott *op. cit.* 235.

[17] *Amph.* 132, 192, 199 (twice), 427, 772, 832, *Asin.* 723, 857, *Bacch.* 1001, 1003, *Capt.* 398, 640, 661, 936, *Merc.* 840, *Mil.* 428, 788, 1135, *Pseud.* 433, *Trin.* 319, *Truc.* 65, *Vid.* 70, *Heaut.* 284, *Eun.* 1044, *Phorm.* 28, 295, *Hec.* 348, *Adel.* 352. Sext. Turp. 143. Morris ed. *Trin.* v. 665 mentions *Pseud.* 433 as an example of the position of adverbs at the end of the verse as a kind of afterthought.

of the colon. The following passages, showing varying order of this adverb in verse and clause while modifying the same word, afford interesting evidence of the influence of meter: *Capt.* 398 in rem utriquest maxume |, but *Amph.* 10; *Asin.* 723 vis maxume ||, *Capt.* 640, *Pseud.* 1042, but *Most.* 392, *Trin.* 664, *Hec.* 396; *Mil.* 1135 exoptabam me maxume |, but *Bacch.* 725, *Heaut.* 408; *Capt.* 936 facere merito maxume |, but *CIL.* 8:1175 donu danunt Hercolei maxsume merito; *Hec.* 348 ea causa maxume |; if we accept Fleckeisen's emendation, we could include *Hec.* 331 eri causa maxume |, but the codd. reading adopted by Dziatzko, maxume eri causa mei, may well be kept in view of the similar order in sentence and verse of *Eun.* 1070 || maxume causa mea; cf. *ad Fam.* 1:8 ob eam causam maxume scribo. Similar word-groups may here be noted: causa magis *Bacch.* 398, *Men.* 1060, *Heaut.* 1036, *Phorm.* 472; causa minus *Most.* 394, non causa modo *Epid.* 382; cf. causa minime *ad Att.* 8:11.

In another group of examples, *maxume* stands postponed at the caesura at the end of the clause; *Curc.* 41, *Pseud.* 1042, *Eun.* 173, 866, *Adel.* 534; postponed at the beginning of the colon and at the end of the clause: *Rud.* 217 leibera ego prognata fui || maxume, nequiquam fui, where the postponement of the adverb allows each colon to end with *fui*; *Phorm.* 241 quom secundae res || sunt maxume, tum maxume meditari, where by the tmesis of *quom-maxume*, the adverb is brought into closer proximity with the balanced phrase *tum maxume*, while at the same time a metrical and euphonic satisfaction is gained.

The varying order of *maxume* used with *causa* has already been noticed above. A similar variety in position, probably because of meter, is seen in *Curc.* 427 maxume | tuo arbitratu, *Pers.* 599, but cf. *Pseud.* 661 tuo arbitratu: maxume (*maxume* while not a real modifier here as Appuhn *op. cit.* 9 views it, is probably a part of a conventional phrase.) In general, *maxume* seems prone when used in a particularizing function to follow with nouns or pronouns: *Amph.* 192 expugnatum oppidumst | imperio—Amphitruonis maxume | (Palmer while he reads *maxume* favors *maxumi* for the sake of the sense, Scaliger reads *maxuma* with *praeda*), *Capt.* 661 messor maxume |, *Mil.* 788 quamque adulescentem maxume |,[18] *Mil.* 1101 dicasque

[18] With the tmesis of quam-maxume *Mil.* 788, cf. the similar behavior of other adverbial composites possibly influenced in like manner by meter: *Aul.* 236, *Men.* 835, *Stich.* 145, *Eun.* 75, *Adel.* 501; the same tmesis, however, occurs in *X*en. *Anab.* 3:4 *ὡς ἐδύναντο τάχιστα.*

tempus || maxume esse, *Trin.* 647 difficilis foret | culpa maxume et desidia tuisque stultis moribus; cf. *ad Att.* 15:11 Cassius maxime but *ad Fam.* 4:4 maxime philosophia; *Asin.* 577 (end of colon by elision), *Heaut.* 428 (at caesura), *Heaut.* 488 (at caesura), *Hec.* 474, cf. *ad Fam.* 1:7 eos maxime but *de Imp. Pom.* 9:24 misercordiam maximeque eorum. In Cato, *maxume* invariably follows the intensified noun or pronoun[19] (see above p. 3). For *maxume* in this usage, see Morris ed. *Pseud.* v. 433. In other passages where the emphatic relation of *maxume* and pronoun is equally felt, the words are separated, the adverb standing at the end of verse and clause; *Merc.* 840, *Mil.* 1135, *Phorm.* 28, *Amph.* 132 (by elision, see below p. 85 for the adverb as the penultimate word in the clause, the enclitic verb being the final word). Then there are certain borderline cases where it is doubtful whether the adverb really modifies the pronoun or the verb, *e.g. Asin.* 723, *Cas.* 449, *Most.* 1098, *Pers.* 301, *Pseud.* 269 (note the frequency elsewhere of such verbal phrases as *maxume volt, metuo, cupio*)

The postponements of *maxume* with *ubi, quom, nunc, quom,* have already been noticed under its word-groups (see above p. 44).

Morris ed. *Pseud.* v. 433 notes that the position of *maxume* at the end of the clause is frequent, quoting *Eun.* 866, *Phorm.* 295, but he fails to note the important fact that in both these passages the adverb stands at a metrical pause of the verse. Heinichen *op. cit.* 193-6 quotes *maxume* among the adverbs which are especially emphatic when placed at the end of the clause. See also Reisig *op. cit.* III 814, Schneider *op. cit.* 75, Madvig *Lat. Spr.* ¶ 468 for the same view of emphasis. However, it looks as if in comedy at least the final position of *maxume* in the clause was coincident with the metrical requirements of the verse. The quantitative adaptability of *maxume* is further seen in Cato's prose where it appeared to form a part of rhythmical clausulae in the two examples (*Agr. Cult.* 38, 76, see above p. 4) in which it stands at the end of the clause; so also in *de Amic.* 92 amicitiae repúgnat máxume (— ′ — | — ′ ˘ —, cf. Blum *op. cit.* 19), but compare the varying position of the adverb with the same verb *Acad.* 2:9 ut maxume etiam repugnaret with no apparent difference in emphasis. In fact, no little difficulty

[19] Cf. the use of weakened *adeo* with emphatic pronouns and adverbs, Sonnenschein ed. *Rud.* 728, 731 etc., Sidgwick ed. *Verg. Aen.* 2:567, umquam *Cas.* 1002 (see Braune *op. cit.* 37).

arises in proving in comedy and elsewhere that *maxume* when final in the clause is emphatic and uniformly emphatic; whereas on the contrary, it is quite possible that this position of this adverb, frequent in later artificial prose, merely followed the license of early poetry induced and established by the metrical convenience of the word (see above p. 20 n. for discussion of the superlative as the final word in the clause).

Bennett, also Towle-Jenks and Kelsey, on Caes. *B. G.* 1:40 legioni—propter virtutem confidebat maxime, assert that added emphasis is intended when Caesar places the adverb after the modified word at the end of the clause; yet it is difficult to detect that *maxime* in the passage quoted is more emphatic than in *B. G.* 1:42 cui quam maxime confidebat, *B. C.* 3:94 cui maxime confidebat, or Nep. *Dat.* 11 cum uno cui maxime habebat fidem (also see below for the similar position of *praecipue*). Walker is right in asserting that in the problem of word-order we have been thinking too much about emphasis, *op. cit.* 652.

Related to "particularizing" *maxume* in both significance and behavior is a group of adverbs meaning "especially," "generally," "for the most part," which are only quasi-quantitative adverbs but ought logically to be discussed with *maxume*:

Cumprimis (Gehlhardt *op. cit.* 31, Wölfflin *Archiv. f. l. Lex.* I 99) precedes in its one occurrence *Truc.* 660 eradicarest certum cumprimis patrem | postid locorum matrem; besides contributing to the alliteration in *c* and *p*, the position of *cumprimis* before *patrem* furnishes a natural balance with that of *postid locorum* before *matrem*. The similar phrase *in primis* occurs *Eun.* 429 saepe et fertur in primis. In Caesar, this phrase both precedes and follows the intensified word.

Praecipue precedes in its one occurrence *Most.* 189 illi | morem praecipue sic geras. In Caesar, we find *B. G.* 7:40 quod semper Haeduorum civitati praecipue indulserat, but also 1:40 legioni Caesar et indulserat praecipue, where Bennett and others ascribe the postponement to emphasis (see above).

Praesertim precedes in 16 examples,[20] follows once. In 15 examples, it stands at the beginning of verse or colon or after the caesura, in *Amph.* 655 it is divided by the diaeresis. It occurs combined with

[20] praesertim : for examples in Plautus and Terence, cf. Allardice-Junks and Junks *s.v.*, Afr. 396, Caec. 220.

pronouns 7 times, with *quom* 4 times. Its one postponement is in *Pseud.* 505 argentum auferri || qui praesertim senserim, where its position is desirable for alliterative and metrical effects; cf. *Poen.* 820 for the reverse order praesertim qui. In Cicero, *praesertim* both precedes and follows the intensified word.

Plerumque precedes in 2 examples,[21] (1 with separation), follows once, standing at the beginning of the verse, *Phorm.* 90 solebamus fere | plerumque; cf. Tac. *Agr.* 22 soliti plerumque but Sall. *B. J.* 66 plerumque solet.

Fere (Lodge *s.v.*; postponed with negatives and numerals Ribbeck *op. cit.* 7, Hand *op. cit.* II 690, Menge *op. cit.* 346; with expressions of time approximately expressed Kelsey ed.[6] *de Amic.* 1:2; with *omnis* Bennett ed. *de Sen.* 5:15 *Crit. App.*; with other words Kühner *Lat. Gr.*[2] II 246, 12 a, Hale-Buck *op. cit.* 337, Gildersleeve-Lodge *op. cit.* 431) precedes in 9 examples[22] (4 with separation), follows in 4. Dziatzko in his *adn. crit.* would emend *ferre* to *fere* in *And.* 369. In 6 passages *fere* is the initial word in verse or colon; in 5 the final word, in 3 of which the modified word is deferred to the following verse. (See above p. 16 for the use of the adverb at the end of the verse as a medium to join successive verses.)

The postponements seem to be connected with the tendency of *fere* to stand before or after a verse-pause: *Phorm.* 90 solebamus fere | plerumque eam opperiri, cf. however Varr. *R. R.* 3:12 fere habere solent; *Cist.* 380 pol ad cubituram, mater, magis sum exercita | fere quam ad cursuram, where *fere* stands at the beginning of the verse; in *Truc.* 64 lenonum et scortorum plus est fere | quam (C.D. *ferre*), it stands at the end of the verse, but in *Truc.* 69 fere plus (codd. *eri*) at the beginning of the verse. The variety exhibited in the position of other adverbs with such correlatives is interesting: Afr. 336 ferme—tamquam, Liv. 21:7 ferme plures-quam; *Phorm.* 797 paene plus quam, *ad Fam.* 2:6, but Liv. 21:40 plures paene—quam; *Tusc.*2:19

[21] plerumque: *Rud.* 1237, *And.* 193.

[22] fere : for examples in Plautus and Terence, cf. Allardice-Junks and Junks *s.v.* The inclusion in this list of *Phorm.* 363, Pl. *fr.* 60 may be open to question, since in both passages, *fere* seems to be quasi-temporal in use, meaning "generally," "usually." Cf. its frequent usage in this significance elsewhere, where it exhibits variety in sentence order: Caes. *B. G.* 3:18 quod fere libenter—credunt, 6:17 eandem fere-opinionem, 6:30 sunt fere domicilia, 7:23 hac fere forma sunt, etc. Also note the similar usage with *ferme*: *Poen.* 862, *And.* 460, *Heaut.* 205; and with *maxume* see above p. 43.

ante paene quam, Quint. *Inst.* 12:8:3 prius paene quam; *Epid.* 380 atque aliquanto lubentius quam, Liv. 42:28, but *Asin.* 893 suaviorem aliquanto quam, Liv. 43:19; Caes. *B. G.* 6:17 eandem fere quam; Herod. 7:223 πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἤ but βραχύτερος πολλὸν ἤ.

In *Hec.* 822 nam memini abhinc mensis decem || fere ad me nocte prima, *fere* is postponed with a numeral. It precedes, however, in *Poen.* 902 surruptus || fere sexennis, *Phorm.* 1017 vinolentus fere abhinc annos || quindecim; cf. the similar usage of *ferme Bacch.* 388 factumst || ferme abhinc biennium.[23] In classical authors, the freedom in the position of *fere* with numerals is marked; cf. *ad Att.* 14:20 hora fere tertia, but *Pis.* 6:13 quinta fere hora; Liv. 41:19 fere duodecim, but 27:41 mille fere et quingentos; cf. the similar use[24] of *ferme* below p. 51.

While iam fere does not occur in comedy, its use in early Latin is attested by *Inc. tr.* 81, Enn. *Ann.* 282, 593 V (see Sidgwick ed. *Verg. Aen.* 3:135 on iam fere); cf. the similar iam ferme *And.* 284. In Ciceronian Latin, *fere* is frequently postponed with adverbs of time : *de Sen.* 7:24 numquam fere, *de Amic.* 1:2 tum fere, *de Orat.* 2:6 semper fere, *ad Fam.* 15:2 quotidie fere, but also 6:5 fere quotidie. However, frequently groups occur in which adverbs of degree while juxtaposed with *iam* do not modify it : *Asin.* 446, *Bacch.* 1182, *Pseud.* 1279, *Heaut.* 98. In *Capt.* 232 fere maxima pars morem hunc homines habent, *fere* precedes *maxima*, a word of quantity. Hallidie brackets maxima pars as a possible gloss on *fere* and Harrington transposes the order to maxima pars fere, while Nixon translates the adverb as a quasi-temporal "generally speaking," cf. Cic. *de Fin.* 4:5 de maximis fere rebus. The position of *fere* used with expressions of quantity in classical Latin becomes quite flexible : Cic. *de Petit. Con.* 17 fere omnis sermo, but *ad Fam.* 12:15 omnes fere Asiaticos; Liv. 42:51 pars ferme

[23] The order in the passages containing *fere-ferme abhinc* is different from that which becomes formulaic in Vell. Pat., where *abhinc* is often used with expressions of time as 1:15 abhinc annos ferme ducentos.

[24] Cf. the freedom in position of *circiter* when used in the meaning of "about": *ad Fam.* 12:15 circiter XXX, but 12:15 C circiter; Caes. *B. G.* 5:49 circiter media nocte but 5:8 media circiter nocte. Not unlike the behavior of *fere* and *circiter* is that of μάλιστα used with expressions of quantity or adverbs of time to denote approximate accuracy: Thuc. 3:85 ἑξακόσιοι μάλιστα οἱ πάντες, Plat. *Crit.* 1:3 πηνίκα μάλιστα, (see Kitchel, also Cron-Uhle ed.[12] *Ap.* and *Crit. ad loc.*); Herod. 1:119 ἕτεα τρία και δέκα κου μάλιστα but 7:223:2 ἐς ἀγορῆς κου μάλιστα πληθώρην where Agahd ed. *Herod.* translates the adverb in both passages "ungefähr."

dimidia but *ad Att.* 11:2 dimidium fere; Caes. *B. G.* 7:39 media fere nocte, *ad Att.* 6:1 extrema fere parte, *B. G.* 1:43 aequo fere spatio, Liv. 26:13 fere totam, but *B.G.* 2:23 totis fere castris; *de Off.* 1:18 satis fere; also with negatives—*de Orat.* 1:25 adest enim fere nemo, but *pro Mur.* 6:13 nemo enim fere saltat, with no change in emphasis in the adverb or the modified word. From all these examples showing the flexibility in position of *fere*, it would seem to possess an enclitic nature which may tend toward its postponement, but which at any moment by its attachment to other words may bring about the opposite position. This flexibility in prose may be induced by the license resulting in poetry from the metrical convenience of the word. At any rate, it hardly seems possible to subscribe to Kühner's theory that *fere* (also *ferme*, *paene*, *prope*) is postponed when the modified word has the emphasis, otherwise it precedes.

Ferme (see references under *fere*; for *haud ferme* Dousa *Pl. Explic.* 323) precedes in 9 examples[25] (3 with separation), follows in 5. Ribbeck *op. cit.* 7 speaks of the modification of clauses of comparison by *ferme—Pers.* 451 (by Scaliger's correction of the codd. *firme* to *ferme*), *Hec.* 312. When grouped with a negative,[26] *ferme* follows *haud And.* 460 fidelem haud ferme || mulieri invenias virum, *Poen.* 862 hau ferme solent; but precedes *non Trin.* 731 honeste fieri ferme non potest (Palmer ed. *Amph. App.* II 255 rejects this passage as un-Plautine).

Ferme is twice the initial word in verse or colon, once postponed it is the final word : *Trin.* 319 mihi quidem aetas actast ferme || tua istuc refert maxume, where a postponed adverb ends each colon. Other postponements are : *And.* 284 iam ferme moriens (*ferme* at the caesura), *Men.* 264 nemo ferme huc sine damno huc devortitur, where *ferme* (again at the caesura, cf. also Naev. *tr.* 56) is postponed with a negative pronoun as frequently in classical prose, cf. Liv. 27:56 nihil ferme.

Ferme postponed with a numeral does not occur in comedy, although it is frequent in classical prose as Liv.[27] 21:7 passus mille

[25] ferme : for examples in Plautus and Terence, cf. Allardice-Junks and Junks *s.v.*, Afr. 336.

[26] Cf. Hand *op. cit.* II 695 for the postponement of adverbs in general with *haud* and *non*; Papillon ed.[2] *And.* v. 460 for *ferme* as extenuating a negative.

[27] Kühnast *op. cit.* 316 says that in Livy, *ferme* (as well as *prope* and *paene*) used with numerals is postponed after the leading idea much more frequently than in Cicero.

ferme. It precedes in *Bacch.* 388 factumst ferme abhinc biennium (cf. Sext. Turp. 134 abhinc triennium, a similar verse-tag), as well as in Cato *Orig.* I 29 ferme mille passuum. In *Heaut.* 205 iniuriae | unius modi sunt ferme, the adverb (properly here a quasi-temporal adverb in its usage, see above p. 49 n.) appears to be a modifier of the clause as a whole and not of the numeral alone; its position, while metrically desirable, also allows alliteration in *u* to link together the clause separated by the verse. In Afr. 332 eaque férme se dedére, the adverb follows the pronoun, giving a pleasing repetition of accented *er* in the second thesis of each dipody; it precedes *Phorm.* 913 ferme eadem omnia (after the caesura); in classical prose usage, postponement with such words is customary (cf. Hand *op. cit.* II 700).

Paene (Anton *Stud.* I 130, Hand *op. cit.* IV 416, Kühner *Lat. Gr.*[2] II 246, 12a) precedes in 27 examples[28] (7 with separation), follows in 5. The dramatists have an almost stereotyped use of *paene* with certain verbs : paene confregi—ecfregi (fores) *Amph.* 1026, *Bacch.* 586, *Most.* 453, 456; paene oblitus *Poen.* 40, 118, *Pseud.* 171; paene perdidisti *Mil.* 408, Afr. 264 (Ribbeck's emendation); paene—perdidit *Heaut.* 814, paenissume perdidit *Aul.* 466; paene—periit, interiit *Hec.* 818, *Bacch.* 950; paene incidi *And.* 782, paene—concidi, decidi *Epid.* 200, *Pers.* 594 (see below p. 83). The group iam paene *Pseud.* 1279 (cf. iamque paene *Inc. tr.* 166) is not uncommon in classical usage as a stereotyped expression (see Merguet *Lex. z. d. Schriften d. Cic.*, also Hand *op. cit. s.v.*). For iam fere, iam ferme, see above p. 50.

Paene stands 7 times at the beginning of a verse or colon, once postponed at the end of the verse, once at the end of the colon; 5 times as the second word in an iambic verse following a monosyllabic word.

The postponements are as follows: *Truc.* 518 qui me interfecisti || paene [ut] vita et lumine, *Mil.* 409 dum te fidelem facere ero voluisti, absumptu's paene, where *paene* stands at metrical pauses in the verse. It is not impossible that the position of *paene* after the verb at the end of the verse in *Mil.* 409 was intentional to form chiasmus with the similar words at the close of the preceding verse—nos paene perdidisti. In *Amph.* 521 nequiter paene expedivit prima parasitatio,

[28] paene : for examples in Plautus and Terence, cf. Allardice-Junks and Junks *s.v.*, Afr. 264 (Bentley writes peristi paene), Dec. Lab. 100.

the interpretation of *paene* as postponed is in accord with Ussing's view of litotes with *nequiter* (however, Palmer ed. *Amph.* opposes litotes with *paene* but grants it with *nequiter*, making *paene* modify the verb). The general artificial structure of the sentence and verse would lend probability to Ussing's view, *i.e.* a verb holding the medial position in the sentence, between an adverb and adjective which are in turn modifiers respectively of an adverb and noun at the ends of the verse and clause—a well balanced chiastic example.[29] *Paene* is quasi-enclitically appended to *nimis Pers.* 114 nimis paene manest, *Rud.* 1204 nimis paene inepta (in both passages the word-compound is at the beginning of verse); cf. Pac. *tr.* 260. The group *nimis paene* may be a form of the stereotyped coalescing in word-order noted elsewhere (see below p. 89). In Dec. Lab. 100 detrusit || paene extremis sensibus, the adverb according to Bond-Walpole ed.[3] *Phorm.* v. 870 is used with *detrusit* (cf. also Apul. *Met.* 1:6 diffletis paene ad extremam captivitatem, 8:30 paene ad extremam confecerant mortem); yet the sense of the context in Dec. Lab. 104, 112 would lend some claim for the precedence of *paene* with *extremis*. No example occurs in comedy of the use of *paene* with numerals and negatives, although its postponement with such words is frequent with classical authors. In comedy, at least, there seems to be no support for the assertion by Seyffert-Müller (*op. cit.* 13) that when *paene* is postponed, the modified word carries the leading idea.

The superlative paenissume (Wagner ed.[2] *Aul.* v. 466) is always postponed at the end of the verse: *Aul.* 466, 668, *Most.* 656 (Priscian for P *plenissume*); but it precedes Apul. *Met.* 8:6 paenissime—reddidit.

Prope (Anton *op. cit.* I 131, Hand *op. cit.* IV 599; for *prope* used in an occasional sense of ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, Macleane-Chase ed. *Hor. Sat.* 2:3:32 n.) precedes in 11 examples[30] (4 with separation), follows in 2. The group prope iam (*Heaut.* [98], 104, *Hec.* 22, *Adel.* 860) occurs in each case of separation. The order iam prope does not occur in comedy, although both orders are common in classical writers.

The postponements are as follows: *Truc.* 402 iam decumus mensis

[29] See Morris ed. *Pseud.* v. 1279 for *paene* in this verse in the sense of "actually, quite," not "almost."

[30] prope: *Aul.* 275, 276, *Bacch.* 1160, *Men.* 985, *Pers.* 650 (*probe* Bothe and Ritschl), *Pseud.* 60, *And.* 152, *Heaut.* 98, 104, *Hec.* 22, *Adel.* 860.

adventat prope (*prope* may express time); the position of the adverb at the end of the verse may be compared with that in *Adel.* 307, 523 (where it expresses place); *Pers.* 810 perii, perculit me prope—a lyrical passage. No example of *prope* in modification of numerals and quantitative words occurs in early Latin; in classical Latin, its position when it is used with such words is quite flexible; cf. Liv. 21:29 prope par, but Liv. 22:24 pari prope clade.

For *propemodum*, a compound of *prope*, see above p. 26.

Plane (Hand *op. cit.* IV 374; Gehlhardt *op. cit.* 10 for the development of *plane* as an adverb of degree and manner from the adverb of place) precedes in 16 examples[31] (3 with separation), follows in 13. The exact significance of *plane* at times becomes doubtful and it is possible that from a Roman standpoint some of the examples listed would be classed as adverbs of manner, as *Heaut.* 897 plane scias, *Mil.* 535 scire plane, *Truc.* 490 plane sciunt, cf. *ad Fam.* 1:10 plane sciam; *Mil.* 876 percipiatis plane, *Epid.* 491 sublitum plane et probe (cf. *Asin.* 755 where the same phrase clearly expresses manner).

This is another adverb with a relatively large number of postponements. Seyffert-Müller *op. cit.* 13 mention it among the adverbs which occasionally follow the leading idea; such a distinction, however, it seems difficult to maintain in the following examples of postponement. *Plane* stands at the end of verse or colon:[32] *Asin.* 657, *Mil.* 876, 936, *Most.* 194, *Pers.* 838; *planest Most.* 236, plane et probe *Epid.* 491. So too in its other postponements, the adverb stands at a metrical pause; *Mil.* 535 vin scire plane (at caesura), cf. *ad Fam.* 13:41 scire te plane volo, but note the opposite order with no perceptible change in emphasis—*Truc.* 490, *Heaut.* 897, *ad Fam.* 7:16 fac plane sciam; *Men.* 206 minae perierunt plane (*plane* at the beginning of colon); *Stich.* 497 periei—plane (at caesura); *Most.* 536 ego perii plane in perpetuom modum (at caesura), cf. the opposite order *Trin.* 515 (after caesura), *ad Att.* 3:12 sin plane perii, also the similar *Pseud.* 1213 (*plane* at end of colon), *Heaut.* 707; *Poen.* 113 Poenus planest (at caesura) with the adverb followed by an enclitic, the final

[31] plane: *Bacch.* 505, *Epid.* 95, *Men.* 667, *Mil.* 650, *Poen.* 1137, 1158, 1277, *Pseud.* 1213, *Trin.* 515, 860, *Truc.* 490, 618, 707, *Heaut.* 707, 897, Caec. 38 (Lindenbrog for cod. *plana*).

[32] The superlative form *planissume* (manner) occurs 9 times in Plautus and Terence, 7 times standing at the end of the verse; with *perii*, it is postponed *Epid.* 510, precedes *Truc.* 548.

word in the clause (see below p. 85); *Phorm.* 345 tu hunc habeas plane praesentem deum (at beginning of colon).

For *aeque* and *adaeque*, also ending in *e*, see below under correlative words pp. 66-7.

The few adverbs of degree (*ita*, *tam*, *quam* and its compounds), which elude classification in the above chapters based on endings, are to be found in their appropriate group in the following chapters based on special functions.

CHAPTER V

The Position in Comedy of Adverbs of Degree Expressing Comparison or Correlation

Amplius (Lodge *s.v.*, Hand *op. cit.* I 287) precedes in 8 examples[1] (4 with separation), follows in 15. The phrase etiam(ne) amplius stands at the end of the verse *Trin.* 249 (according to A, amplius etiam P), *Heaut.* 132, *Eun.* 143, *Adel.* 468; at the beginning of the verse *Asin.* 41, Sext. Turp. 127; nil amplius at the end of the verse *Heaut.* 717. Cf. hoc amplius *Agr. Cult.* 57:1, 142:1 etc. The 15 postponements of *amplius* are connected with the metrical adaptability of the word to the end of the verse or colon[2] (see below p. 81 for the tendency of other words of the same quantitative form — ˘ ˘̲ to stand in this position of the verse); it is interesting to note that while *amplius* usually precedes in Cato, he too presents a postponement *Orat.* 40:6 dissertem amplius which may be connected with its quantitative form (see above p. 4).

In *Aul.* 420 quoi ego de indústria ampliús || male plús lubens faxim, chiasmus cooperates with meter and assonance in the position of *amplius*.

Lindsay follows Leo in adopting the diminutive form *Most.* 967 ampliuscule[3] quam, where G. S. with A read *amplius*.

Largius occurs once postponed at the end of the verse *Eun.* 1078.

Magis (Fraesdorff *De comp. grad. usu Pl.* 41, Wölfflin *Comp.* 46, Hand *op. cit.* III 552 ff.) precedes in 243 examples[4] (85 with separation), follows in 71. The shorter form *mage* (commonly used before

[1] amplius : for examples in Plautus and Terence, cf. Allardice-Junks and Junks *s.v.*, Sext. Turp. 127.

[2] *Asin.* 203, 724, *Aul.* 420, *Men.* 320, 791, 800, *Trin.* 249 (according to A), *And.* 31, *Heaut.* 132, 185, *Phorm.* 1035, *Adel.* 269, 468, 732, Afr. 274, cf. Acc. *tr.* 281. In *Men.* 320 satin hoc quod vides | tribus vobis obsonatumst, an opsono amplius, besides the metrical motives for placing *amplius* after its modified verb, there is to be noticed the figure διὰ μέσου, which is involved in the order of words; see Boldt *De liberiore ling. Gr. et Lat. colloc. verb.* (Goettingen 1884) 175. Other comparatives in *ior* and *ius* have a frequent habitat at the end of the verse in comedy.

[3] See Sonnenschein ed.[2] *Most. ad loc.* for support of *ampliuscule*.

[4] magis : for examples in Plautus and Terence, cf. Allardice-Junks and Junks *s.v.*, Afr. 35, Titin. 69, Pomp. Bon. 167; for doublet *magis magisque*, see Wölfflin *Comp.* 46.

vowels) according to Seyffert *Burs. Jahresb.* (1895) 294 is only used when demanded by the meter save in *Asin.* 394 where meter also allows *magis*. For the weakness of the ultimate syllable of *magis*, see Leo *Pl. Forsch.*[2] 292, Dz.-Hauler ed.[4] *Phorm. Einleit.* 57.

Magis has a colloquial usage peculiar to itself as a comparative, *i.e.* it may modify another comparative.[5] In the following examples, it precedes the comparative: *Amph.* 301, *Capt.* 644, *Men.* 55, 978, *Poen.* 82, 212, *Pseud.* 220 (see below p. 59), *Stich.* 704, *Hec.* 738; it follows in *Aul.* 422, *Bacch.* 500, *Poen.* 461, *Stich.* 485 (see below p. 63). Fairclough and Freeman-Sloman see such a pleonasm in *Trin.* 274 magis lubet—potius quam, but Morris construes *magis* with *lubet*. Hallidie sees a similar pleonasm in *Capt.* 323 and *Asin.* 689, but Gray rejects the latter as an example of such expressions.[6]

Another expression of colloquial speech involving *magis* is illustrated in *Men.* 268 (reading of A, Brix-Niemeyer read *magnus amator* with P), in which an adverb modifies a predicate noun that has an adjective force. The other instances of this use occurring with the various adverbs of degree in early Latin may be conveniently assembled at this point. The adverb precedes in *Trin.* 366, Naev. 26 admodum adulescentulust, *Men.* 493 aeque heres, *Mil.* 660 magis qui amicus, *Merc.* 445 magis senex (Wölfflin *Comp.* 32) cf. *Pseud.* 136, *Adel.* 259, 736; *Mil.* 647 minime sputator, *Trin.* 653 omnino inopiam (Nutting ed. *Trin.*), *Mil.* 634 oppido adulescentulist, *Phorm.* 508 parum leno, *Pers.* 686 sat essem leno, *Mil.* 741 tam in amici, *Mil.* 901 tam pro nota (Brix ed.[3] *Mil.*). The adverb is postponed in *Men.* 675 inimicus magis, cf. *Capt.* 623, *Pseud.* 873 (reading of B), *Hec.* 239; *Capt.* 661 messor maxume, cf. *Mil.* 788; *Most.* 236 sagina planest, cf. *Pers.* 838, *Poen.* 113; note the Ciceronian parallel *ad Fam.* 9:2 tam Lynceus. Because of such passages, Bothe's conjecture in *Mil.* 11 tam bellatorem for the MS tum bellatorem might be added to the list. (See Tyrrell ed.[3] *Mil.* v. 11, Elmer ed. *Phorm.* v. 508, Appuhn *op. cit.* 11 for such expressions.)

Because of its quantitative value, the pyrrhic *magis* has certain

[5] See Holtze *Synt. Prisc. Script. Lat.* II 206, Fraesdorff *op. cit.* 41 ff., Wagner ed.[2] *Aul.* v. 422, Morris ed. *Pseud.* v. 220 for this usage.

[6] Similar Greek examples containing μᾶλλον with the comparative are: Eur. *Hipp.* 485, *Hec.* 377, Soph. *Antig.* 1210, Aesch. *Sept.* 673, Plat. *Gorg.* 487a; early Latin affords no example of a superlative modified by a superlative adverb, a combination which occurs Eur. *Hipp.* 1421, *Med.* 1323, *Alc.* 790, Xen. *Anab.* 4:6:16, Plat. *Tim.* 92a.

favorite positions in the verse into which it easily falls, being the initial word in verse or colon 80 times; the second word in verse or colon after a monosyllable 35 times (see above p. 31 for the frequency of *satis* in this position); the penultimate word in verse or colon 37 times (see below p. 84); the final word in verse or colon 56 times (see below p. 62 for the frequent postponement of *magis* at the end of the verse or colon).

Probably also because of its quantitative value, *magis* enters readily into many composite expressions, as mage amo (see Radford *AJP* XXV 276), magis amo, magis lubet, magis volo. Often such groups show variable accentuation : pól magis *Bacch.* 37, pol mágis *Poen.* 1107, but also mágis pol *Truc.* 810; magis únum *Bacch.* 130, mágis unum *Heaut.* 895; mágis iam *Amph.* 1107, magis iám *Cas.* 891, but also iám magis iam *Cas.* 890; mágis nunc *Amph.* 675, magis núnc *Heaut.* 223, but also núnc magis *Aul.* 810; sí magis *Bacch.* 363, si mágis *Bacch.* 678. See Radford *AJP* XXV 261 for such variable accents as resulting from the free position of the adverb in the sentence. For the attraction of *magis* to introductory words *quam, quiquo- quoi*, see Stolz-Schmalz *op. cit.* 597, Kühner *Lat. Gr.*[2] I 31 ff. Nihilo (nilo) magis (mage) occurs both within and at the end of the verse; multo magis occurs *Pers.* 232, *Pseud.* 656 (also 3 times in tmesis) but magis multo *Amph.* 301 (reading of Lindsay).[7]

[7] The ablatives of difference—*multo, paulo, quanto, tanto*—usually precede in comedy. *Multo* precedes in 66 examples (19 with separation), follows in 18. With *post*, it precedes in 11 examples, follows *Merc.* 234; with *prius*, it precedes in 4 examples, follows *Amph.* 603; with *potius* etc., it precedes in 4 examples, follows Naev. 10; with *plus*, it precedes in 3 examples (see Ritschl *op. cit.* V 456 for enclisis in *multó-plus*), follows *Mil.* 587 (see below p. 66); with *minus*, it precedes in 2 examples, follows *Bacch.* 672, *Phorm.* 11; with *melius* etc., it precedes in 3 examples, follows *Cist.* 97; with *malo* etc., it precedes in 4 examples, follows *Mil.* 1356, *Pseud.* 209; with *tanto* and *secus*, it always precedes; for its usage with *magis*, see above. See Fraesdorff *op. cit.* 32 for the position of *multo* with comparatives in Plautus. With superlatives, it precedes in 9 examples, follows *Aul.* 667.

Paulo precedes except in *Heaut.* 220, *Eun.* 315; *paululo* follows in Afr. 121. *Quanto* precedes except in Pl. *fr.* 37, *Eun.* 453; *tanto* except in *Heaut.* 425.

In Cato, such words always precede the comparative. In Cic. *ad Fam.*, *multo* usually precedes, but follows 5 times. Bennett ed. *de Sen.* 23:82 *Crit. App.* says, "Out of some 200 occurrences of multo with comparatives in Cicero's philosophical works, multo follows the comparatives in only 3 exceptions." According to Kühner *Lat. Gr.*[2] II 246, 112 b, *multo* normally precedes, but may follow; Seyffert-Müller *op. cit.* 13 assign the occasional postponements of such words to the unusual emphasis given the comparative—a distinction difficult to discern in many cases.

Magis occurs in 7 examples at the end of the verse with the modified word (a verb except in *Pseud.* 220, cf. Acc. *tr.* 378) deferred to the following verse.[8] Besides the metrical advantages to be gained, there is possibly some emphatic and artistic effect felt through the separation by the verse. (See above p. 16 for further discussion of this arrangement.) In 4 of these examples, *magis* is part of a word-group which by its isolation from the verb, gains in intensity: *Heaut.* 1036 ea causa magis | patiar, *Men.* 1060 nilo hercle causa magis | facietis, *Heaut.* 197 nil magis | vereor quam, *Bacch.* 557 tanto magis | dic quis est. In *Most.* 1008 nisi quid magis | es occupatus, the separation by the verse has compensation in the gain of sound-effects of *o* and *p*; in *Amph.* 378 istoc magis | quia vaniloquo's, vapulabis in the sound-effects of *v* and *a*. In all these interruptions of the verse, there is no doubt that the adverb modifies the initial word in the next verse save in one passage : *Pseud.* 220 nitidiusculum caput? aut num ipse pulmento ego utor magis | unctiusculo? Here *magis* has been considered as preceding *unctiusculo*, but there is something to be said in favor of Leo's view (*Nach. d. gött. Ges.* [1895] 429) that it modifies *utor*. Ussing makes it modify the comparative but still is troubled by *magis* with a comparative diminutive. Fraesdorff *op. cit.* 41 favors the proposed emendation of Lorenz which eliminates *magis*, "aut num ipsus ego pulpamento." We have already found *magis* used with comparatives (see above p. 57); *magis unctiusculo* falls in with this usage and also accords with the frequent tendency of an adverb to modify the ultimate word in the clause. If *magis* follows its verb, as Leo says, it has a peculiarity found in only one other of the numerous cases of *magis* at the end of the verse *i.e. Heaut.* 423, where contrary to the usual practice by which the verse and clause end simultaneously, the subject is deferred to the next verse. *Utor magis* receives further support from the order in *Adel.* 374. In both, the verb and adverb at the end of the verse are bracketed by an object and its modifier, one of which is deferred. Moreover in *Pseud.* 220, the corresponding position of the two diminutives—*nitidiusculum, unctiusculo*—holding the initial places in successive verse, suggests

[8] Palmer would punctuate *Amph.* 679 haud vidi magis | expectatum so that it is of this type; however all other modern editors place a period after *magis*, thus preserving the elliptical colloquial form of the phrase found elsewhere (*Capt.* 561, *Merc.* 723, *Poen.* 141).

an intentional balance which is disturbed if *magis* modifies the second of the adjectives.

Magis used correlatively with *quam* presents variety in its positions. In the largest number of examples, *magis* precedes the modified word with or without separation, while *quam* introduces the correlative clause, as *Curc.* 305. Postponement occurs *Capt.* 623 magis est || quam (see below p. 85 for *est* at the end of the clause, following an adverb), *Poen.* 1194 stulta, sóror, magis es quam volo (see Klotz *op. cit.* 264 for the not infrequent resolution in the first foot); in both examples, *magis* is attracted toward *quam*, with separation by an enclitic; cf. *ad Att.* 10:1 disertus magis est quam sapiens.

In a fair number of examples, *magis* precedes the modified word, while *quam* introduces a clause in ellipsis, as *Cist.* 379. Postponement occurs *Amph.* 595 tibi istuc mirum || magis videtur quam mihi, where *magis* (after the diaeresis) is attracted to *quam* with separation by the quasi-enclitic *videtur*. (Cf. *Amph.* 596 mirum || mágis tibi ístuc quam mihi, *Amph.* 829 mirúmst magis |, but *Hec.* 220 magis mirúm.) *Amph.* 680 eum salutat || mágis haud[9] quisquam quam canem, *Poen.* 427 meumst istuc || magis officium quam tuom. *Magisquam* juxtaposed breaks the sequence of the principal clause, preceding the modified word *Capt.* 852, *Phorm.* 467 (in both passages, standing at the diaeresis); it stands between two clauses with resulting postponement of the adverb *Poen.* 400; between a clause and a second clause in ellipsis *Asin.* 823 amoris causa percitum id fecisse te magis | quam sua causa, *Aul.* 422, *Bacch.* 429, *Cas.* 182; in 7 passages standing at a verse-pause. In this medial position, the service of *magisquam* is that of a connecting comparative; in such a relation, there is no conscious effort to preserve the immediate sequence after the modified word, for the principal idea involved in its use is quasi-conjunctional; however, in the majority of the above examples, it does follow the modified word at the end of the clause. *Magisquam* with the first clause to be supplied occurs *Poen.* 1107, *Stich.* 530 (at the beginning of the verse), *Truc.* 720 (at the beginning of the colon). The *quam*-clause is supplanted by an ablative of comparison *Asin.* 704 nec te equo || magis est equos ullus sapiens, *Capt.* 644, in both passages the ablative being juxtaposed with *magis*.

[9] With the order *mágis haud*, cf. *Aul.* 231 magis haúd, where Weise reads *haud magis*, the logical order (cf. *Curc.* 305 haúd magis-initial in verse); however, *magis haúd* has a parallel in *Trin.* 233 satis hau.

Magis—quam placed before two contrasted words occur *Bacch.* 55[10] magis inlectum tuom quam lectum metuo, *Amph.* 596 nihilo inquam mirum || tibi istuc quam mihi. With the order in *Amph.* 596, cf. that of the same words in *Amph.* 595 where the adverbial expression and *tibi* are not juxtaposed, yet their thought connection is equally apparent. (For the group *tibi istuc magis*, cf. also *Merc.* 619.) In like manner *magisquam* juxtaposed stands between two words in comparison: *Bacch.* 738 ad perdundum || magisquam ad scribundum cita, *Mil.* 622, 625, *Adel.* 270, (cf. Enn. *tr.* 233, Acc. *tr.* 110) occurring at a verse-pause except in *Adel.* 270, Enn. *tr.* 233.

Hand *op. cit.* III 551 explains the frequent postponements of *magis* when used correlatively with *quam* on the basis of meaning, saying that the adverb is postponed when it is equivalent to *potius* ("rather" instead of the more common "more"). Raspe *op. cit.* 40 explains such postponements on the basis of emphasis, saying that correlative words are placed ordinarily at the end of the clause, and only recede to the middle or the beginning of the clause when they give way to a word of greater emphasis. Such distinctions in meaning or emphasis are not always maintained nor felt in the varying positions of *magis—quam* in the clause.

An examination of the positions of these correlatives in the verse of comedy suggests that originally the variety of their order might be connected with the metrical adaptability of the two words to the conditions of the verse. *Magisquam* juxtaposed occurs 24 times, 14 times standing at the beginning of a colon. *Magisquam* separated occurs 58 times, *magis* stands 21 times at the beginning of a colon (in 3 passages *quam* standing at the beginning of the second colon); *magis(e)* in this same correlative use stands 6 times at the caesura, 5 times as the second word in the verse or colon following a monosyllabic word; 5 times at the end of the verse (see above p. 58 for the favorite metrical positions of *magis*). Accented *quam* stands 8 times as the penultimate word in verse or colon followed by a dissyllable, 6 times as the penultimate word followed by a monosyllable.

The habit of postponement of *magis* through attraction to *quam*, as well as the influence of meter, may have led to its postponement in

[10] *Bacch.* 55 (cf. also Enn. *tr.* 327) presents in arrangement of the verse the alliterative figure κατὰ κῶλα—κατὰ διποδίαν; see Buchhold *De adlit. ap. vet. Rom. poet. usu* (Leipzig 1883) 89.

passages where the *quam* clause is inferred but not expressed, as in *Hec.* 617 ea gratia concordes || magis (at the caesura), *Eun.* 414 ubi molestus || magis est (see below p. 85 for the adverb at the caesura preceding the enclitic verb at the end of the clause), *Eun.* 436 auge magis || suspicionem (at the caesura); cf. also the uncertain *Cas.* 225 quam amo Casinam magis[11] (by punctuation of G. S., also see Seyffert *Berl. Phil. Woch.* [1891] 110), and *Pseud.* 873 (by the reading of Lindsay, who follows B); cf. *ad Att.* 6:11 nulla re sum delectatus magis.[12]

Besides the above 28 postponements of *magis* used correlatively, other postponements are as follows:

The pyrrhic *magis* stands postponed at the end of verse or colon 35 times.[13] Other postponements possibly metrical in origin are *Bacch.* 619 malos quam bonós par magís me iuvare, a lyrical passage where meter prohibits the usual order *magis par* (*Amph.* 990, *Curc.* 110, *Pers.* 800, *Poen.* 522, *Stich.* 512, Acc. *tr.* 137) and *Bacch.* 156 pol métuo magis, an iambic verse, with which it is profitable to compare *Bacch.* 37 pól magis metuo, a trochaic verse. The variation in word-order is apparently dependent on the respective quantitative demands of the two verses, where the poet wishing to utilize a certain scansion changes the order of the words. The comparison affords interesting evidence for the strength of metrical influence in comedy (cf. the precedence of *magis* with forms of *metuo Mil.* 473, 1437, *Heaut.* 808). The metrical adaptability of *magis* to the end of the verse is doubtless the cause for its use in the following tags in this position : haud vidí magis *Amph.* 679 (see Palmer ed. *Amph.*), *Capt.* 561, *Merc.* 723, *Poen.* 141; videatúr magis *Amph.* 1060, *Capt.* 321; causá magis *Men.* 1060, *Heaut.* 1038 (cf. causá minus *Most.* 394); niló magis

[11] Gronovius ed. *Pl. Com.* (Leipzig 1769) reads *magis initio* saying that this is the equivalent of magis quam primum, quam olim, a view which Fraesdorff *op. cit.* 23 rejects as alien to Plautine usage.

[12] Cf. in the prose of Xen. *Anab.* 1:8 ἐπορεύετο ἠμελημένως μᾶλλον, 2:1 εἰὲλπιδες μᾶλλον εἶεν οἱ Ἕλληνες. For other examples of inferred comparison in our study, see below p. 89.

[13] *Amph.* 254, 679, 829, 1060, *Asin.* 233, *Aul.* 483, *Bacch.* 408, 500, *Capt.* 180, 321, 561, 599, *Epid.* 79, *Men.* 9, *Merc.* 971, *Mil.* 660 (cf. Wölfflin *Comp.* 32), 1285, 1367, *Most.* 691, *Poen.* 141, 525, 669, 1386, *Pseud.* 324, 1289, *Trin.* 200, *Truc.* 550, 732, *Heaut.* 423, 542, *Hec.* 122, *Adel.* 606, 698, 705, Sext. Turp. 55. In colloquial phrases at the end of the verse, *magis* appears: *Men. 198*, *Poen.* 384, *Pseud.* 380, *Truc.* 361, *Vid.* 32, *Heaut.* 377, *Hec.* 137.

Heaut. 377, nihiló magis *Hec.* 137; vereór (vereár) magis *Adel.* 698, *Mil.* 1285 (cf. *Heaut.* 197 níl magis | vereor quam).

Stylistic considerations at times produce an artificial arrangement. Chiasmus appears in *Bacch.* 678 med accuses || magis, si magis rem noveris, *Hec.* 268 postquam attendi | magis et vi coepi cogere, in both examples the postponement of the adverb possibly being influenced by its metrical adaptability for the initial position in colon and verse. The influence of chiasmus as well as meter is apparent in *Mil.* 660 magis qui amicus amico sit magis |, and of figura etymologica as well as meter in *Pseud.* 324 te faciam ex laeto laetantem magis |. Balanced order is secured by postponement in *Trin.* 169 adesurivit [magis] et inhiavit acrius |, *Poen.* 461 contentiores mage erunt atque avidi minus |, where Fraesdorff (*op. cit.* 41) says "mage aequabilitatis gratia positum esse videtur." The ἀπὸ κοινοῦ construction is made more prominent by the postponement of the adverb in *Trin.* 748 si hoc utibile || magis atque in rem deputas. An interesting postponement, also probably connected with meter, results in the triadic group—adjective, adverb, noun—*Stich.* 485 iero | apertiore || magis via. However, this passage from *Stichus* has been frequently emended, since verses 484-5 are found only in A. Geppert *Stud. Pl.* II 48 reads apertiorem age vix ita; Bothe reads apertiore vis via; Bugge *Phil.* 31:249 apertiorem ad hanc viam. Ussing brackets the verse as spurious. Although the text is unsatisfactory, the reading as given by A has an interesting parallel in order in Caec. 103 cruento ita || ore grundibat miser, both passages showing a medial adverb. (See below p. 87 for further discussion of the triadic order.)

Minus (Hand *op. cit.* III 616) precedes in 96 examples[14] (41 with separation), follows in 21. When *minus* is used with a partitive genitive, the uniform order—adverb, genitive, verb—appears: *Merc.* 717, *Mil.* 1436, *Stich.* 162, *Truc.* 63b, *Vid.* 50, *Eun.* 760. When *minus* is combined with *plus*, the following variations occur in the form of the group : *Capt.* 995 plus minusque, *Asin.* 773, *Men.* 592 plus aut minus quam, *Phorm.* 554 plus minusve, *Trin.* 349 plus fit an minus.

Minus easily enters into word-groups: nilo minus *Men.* 953, *Poen.* 363, *Heaut.* 1012, *Phorm.* 597 (cf. Enn. *tr.* 368), níl minus *Heaut.* 667, *Eun.* 535, minus nilo Caec. 92, *Vid.* 50 (in tmesis), minus niló *Pseud.* 938, minus multo *Bacch.* 672, *Phorm.* 11, multo id minus

[14] minus : for examples in Plautus and Terence, cf. Allardice-Junks and Junks *s.v.*, Caec. 88, 92, Sext. Turp. 40.

Most. 1012 (cf. *Merc.* 717 multo minus, where *minus* is substantively used), tantó minus *Merc.* 573, quanto minus *Eun.* 1053, sí minus *Mil.* 603, *Truc.* 900 (*minus* Bugge), *Heaut.* 939, si mínus *Poen.* 27, but minus sí *Mil.* 876, numqui minus at the end of the verse *Rud.* 1020, *Adel.* 800, and at the beginning of the verse *Pseud.* 160, *Rud.* 736. Qui minus occurs 8 times (see Stolz-Schmalz *op. cit.* 597 for the attraction of *minus* to *qui*); also in tmesis *Aul.* 596, but mínus qui *Trin.* 327, quo minus *Capt.* 430, *Stich.* 162, *And.* 700; in tmesis *And.* 197 *Hec.* 630, *Amph.* 84 (see Radford *AJP* XXV 159 for the group *quo-minus* in the last passage); minus iam *Epid.* 12, *Hec.* 630, mínus placet *Trin.* 670, 861, *Hec.* 647.

Minus stands at the end of the verse with the modified word deferred to the following verse with or without separation: *Amph.* 76, *Rud.* 1020, *Phorm.* 597, *Adel.* 800.

When *minus* is used correlatively with *quam*, it usually precedes the modified word with or without separation. *Quam* by its attraction to *minus* causes a break in the sequence of the principal clause *Amph.* 27, *Asin.* 773, *Men.* 592, *Truc.* 63. In *Merc.* 716, *minus quam* is divided by the verse; in *Aul.* 424 by the diaeresis; in both passages the first clause of the comparison is understood. *Minusquam* stands between two contrasted terms *Eun.* 1027, *Hec.* 260; *minus-quam* precede the contrasted terms *Cist.* 634 (emendation of Seyffert), *Hec.* 606. The order in *Cas.* 456 me quam te minus occurs at the end of the verse.

Other postponements of *minus* are metrical or stylistic. At the end of the verse or colon, it occurs 17 times.[15] In *Eun.* 737 correxit miles, quod intellexi || minus, besides the metrical desirability in the postponement of *minus*, artistic effect is given by the repetition of *éx-i-mi*; in *Aul.* 596 laborent minus, facilius || ut nent, chiasmus as well as meter is a probable factor in the order.

Plus (Wölfflin *Comp.* 49) precedes in 71 examples,[16] follows in 23. *Plus*, like *largiter*, *adfatim*, *minus*, *parum*, *satis*, may take a partitive genitive and with it may modify a verb. The triad may be arranged —*plus*, genitive, verb: *Truc.* 69, *And.* 547, 720, *Heaut.* 659, cf. Cato

[15] *Amph.* 84, 479, *Aul.* 777, *Bacch.* 466, *Cas.* 456, 805, 998, *Men.* 792, *Merc.* 24, *Mil.* 1308, *Most.* 394, *Poen.* 363, 461, *Pseud.* 124, *Trin.* 349, *And.* 197, *Eun.* 757.

[16] plus : for examples in Plautus and Terence, cf. Allardice-Junks and Junks *s.v.*, Titin. 38, Dec. Lab. 112, Nov. 95.

Agr. Cult. 64:2; or genitive, *plus*, verb: *Truc.* 63a, 64, Afr. 258, cf. *Agr. Cult.* 4:1. The unusual order in *Mil.* 236 is probably due to the attraction of correlatives.

Plus appears in frequent stereotyped expressions at the end of the verse: plús vales etc. *Amph.* 390, 396, *Stich.* 311, *Truc.* 812; potestas plús potest *Cas.* 282, *Stich.* 69, plús agas *Heaut.* 74, *Eun* 62; plus quám mihi *Cas.* 464, 608; at the beginning of the verse: plus scíre (scis) *Epid.* 60a, *Heaut.* 116, *Adel.* 996. The idiomatic phrase, "plus satis" abbreviated for the longer "plus quam sát erat" (*Phorm.*797) occurs *Epid.* 346, *Poen.* 227, 288 (*sat*), *Heaut.* 198, *Eun.* 85 (at the end of the verse). The group plús iam occurs *Aul.* 448, *Curc.* 14, *Merc.* 299, plus iám *Bacch.* 819, *Epid.* 498.

Plus used correlatively with *quam* may precede the modified word immediately or with separation, or may be postponed and juxtaposed with *quam* between the clauses in comparison, regardless of the position of the modified word. The list of such postponements of *plus* follows: *Bacch.* 150, *Cas.* 464, 608, *Merc.* 491, *Poen.* 288, *Stich.* 339, *Truc.* 296, 755, *Adel.* 903. In *Mil.* 236 plus sapientiai quam, the correlative words are separated by the partitive genitive. Occasionally the *quam* clause by juxtaposition with *plus* causes a break in the sequence of the principal clause: *Epid.* 675, *Truc.* 803 (group at the beginning of verse), *Phorm.* 584 (cf. Acc. *tr.* 152, 157 for similar examples; in each of the three cases, *plus* accented stands at the caesura, in each it modifies the verb at the end of the verse). The middle position of *plusquam* with the first clause to be supplied occurs *Most.* 161, *Trin.* 51, *Phorm.* 797, also plus quidem quam *Capt.* 572. In *Cas.* 464, 608, *Poen.* 288, *Truc.* 755 *plusquam* is the penultimate word-group in the verse. Followed by a numeral without a *quam* clause,[17] *plus* is postponed *Amph. fr.* VI, *Men.* 896, *Stich.* 160, *Heaut.* 451. *Plusquam* stand before two contrasted words: *Merc.* 299 oculeis quoque etiam plus iam video quam prius, *Epid.* 60a, *And.* 547, 720, *Heaut.* 27, *Hec.* 879; or juxtaposed stand between such contrasted words: *Eun.* 160 illum plus quam me amas, *Cas.* 677.

Possibly related to such postponements of *plus* when attracted to *quam* is its postponement in certain examples which contain an in-

[17] By an extension of this usage, *plus* is followed by *eo* which represents a preceding plural number in *Heaut.* 63, *Hec.* 421 aut plus eo, being postponed with the modified word in the former passage.

ferred comparison, the *quam* clause being unexpressed: *Mil.* 587 saepe sapere || plus multo suem (cf. plus sapio etc. *Epid.* 258, 262, *Most.* 1103, *Heaut.* 507, Nov. 95), *Heaut.* 220 ubi adbibit plus paulo. In both these examples, however, it must be observed that the postponement of *plus* not only indicates the feeling of an inferred comparison (see below p. 89), but adds an opportunity for alliterative effects; while the matter of keeping intact the compounds *plus multo* and *plus paulo* may have entered into the arrangement of words in the verses.

In *Hec.* 730 quid faciam plús, quod post || me mínus fecisse satius sit, the chiastic order of *plus* and *minus* lends emphasis.

For the diminutive *plusculum*, see above p. 22.

Adaeque (Fraesdorff *op. cit.* 40, Lodge *op. cit.* and *T.L.L. s.v.*) precedes in 4 examples[18] (3 with separation), follows in 2: *Cist.* 55 neque munda adaeque es ut soles, where the adverb is postponed by attraction to the correlative *ut* (Studemund's conjecture in *Vid.* 63 miser est adaeque ut ego would contain a like attraction), *Cas.* 857 ullo die risi adaeque | (a lyrical passage) which Langen *op. cit.* 21 quotes as an example of inferred comparison. In *Most.* 30 quo nemo adaeque iuventute ex omni Attica | antehac est habitus parcus nec magis continens, the poet feels no compunction for the long separation of *adaeque* from the modified *parcus*, since it stands in natural proximity to *quo*.

Aeque (Fraesdorff *op. cit.* 190, Fuhrmann *Verg. Sätze b. Pl.* [*Anm. Phil.* XCVII] 842 ff., Löfstedt *op. cit.* 190, Lodge *op. cit.* and *T.L.L. s.v.*) precedes in 38 examples,[19] follows in 15. *Aeque* is prone to precede the final dissyllabic word in verse or colon (see below p. 84): *Asin.* 493 aequé putent, *Epid.* 648 aequé scias, *Mil.* 1293, *Most.* 302, *Pers.* 545, *Pseud.*745, *Stich.* 274, *Hec.* 293, cf. Enn. *tr.* 167; with the opposite accentuation: *Men.* 201 aéque magno, *Pseud.* 358, with accent hidden by elision *Mil.* 1065. The group aeque mecum occurs *Asin.* 332, *Poen.* 47, tecum aeque *Pers.* 545, aeque-tecum *Phorm.* 1032.

Aeque used correlatively with *atque*(*ac*)shows variety in its order

[18] adaeque : for examples in Plautus, cf. Allardice-Junks *s.v.*, cf. also the emendation of *aeque Capt.* 700 to *adaeque* by Müller *op. cit.* 413. There are no examples in Terence.

[19] aeque : for examples in Plautus and Terence, cf. Allardice-Junks and Junks *s.v.*, Afr. 262, Quinct. Att. 12.

(see Lodge *loc. cit.*, Raspe *op. cit.* 40 for postponement of adverbs used with correlatives).

Aeque-atque in tmesis with a word common to both terms of the comparison *Aul.* 297 pumex non aequest aridus atque hic.[20]

Aeque atque(*ac*) between two clauses in comparison: *Cas.* 129 ieiunium | ieiunumst aeque atque ego te ruri reddibo, *Cas.* 847, *Merc.* 761 (reading of Lindsay), *Mil.* 668, *Phorm.* 581, cf. Acc. *fab. praet.* 32; with the first clause to be supplied *And.* 702.

Aeque-atque(*ac*) placed before two words in contrast: Afr. 262 aeque profesto<ac festo>, cf. Enn. *tr.* 327. Fleckeisen *Jahrb. f. Ph.* 95:63 *anm.* 4 and Langen *op. cit.* 19 emend *Stich.* 217 so that it is of this type. However, the postponement in this passage may be explained by inferred comparison (see below) without resorting to emendation.

Aeque atque juxtaposed and placed between two contrasted words: *Bacch.* 214, Dec. Lab. 113, also *Phorm.* 93 (with tmesis). Langen's emendation *op. cit.* 20 of *Stich.* 271 would add another example to this group.

Showing an outgrowth of the habit of postponement of *aeque* to gain juxtaposition with a correlative word, we have a small group of examples in which it is postponed in inferred comparison (see below p. 89), a type concerning which Langen *op. cit.* 21 says "Oefter steht aeque bei Pl. ohne dass das zweite Glied der Vergleich hinzu gefuegt wird." In this group belong *Asin.* 493 credi recte aeque putent || (see above p. 66 for the position of *aeque* in the colon), *Poen.* 579 callum aprugnum || callere aeque nón sinam (where postponement makes more prominent the figura etymologica in *callum-callere*), *Stich.* 217 ridiculus aeque nullus est. With the comparative idea expressed in a preceding ablative instead of a clause, postponement of the adverb occurs *Amph.* 293 nullust hoc metuculosus || aeque, *Merc.* 335 me miserior nullus est aeque, ópinor | (see above p. 66 for the position of *aeque* in the verse). However, no postponement occurs *Curc.* 141.

In *Mil.* 776 fuisse aeque neque futurum || credo, the middle posi-

[20] If the reading of A is correct, *Mil.* 552 similior numquam potis aqua aeque sumi quam haec (Lindsay reads *aquae*), would present another example of this type; the redundant use of *aeque* with the comparative is paralleled by *Merc.* 335. Tyrrell ed.[3] *Mil. ad loc.* explains such redundancy by the fusion of two expressions.

tion of *aeque* furthers the feeling of ἀπὸ κοινοῦ; while in *Mil.* 1293 quae morast aequé, mora | minor ea videtur, the postponed adverb keeps in balance the modifiers of *mora*, and at the same time holds a favorite position in the verse. In *Phorm.* 1032 novi aeque omnia | tecum, the adverb holds the same position in the verse, and obtains a closer proximity to words with which it is closely associated in thought and with which it is elsewhere united in word-groups: aeque omnes *Hec.* 274, aeque omnibus *Asin.* 641; aeque mecum *Asin.* 332, *Poen.* 47; iuxta[21] tecum aeque *Pers.* 545; tecum—aeque *Asin.* 771.

Pariter (Hand *op. cit.* 387 ff.) precedes in 21 examples[22] (8 with separation), follows in 10. *Pariter* used correlatively is postponed and juxtaposed with *ut* Titin. 79 extulisti || pariter ut dignus fuit. (The position of *pariter* at the beginning of the colon is to be observed.) The correlative words *pariter-atque(ac)*, *et*, precede the two words brought into contrast in *Men.* 752 pariter hoc atque alias res soles, *Aul.* 132, *Phorm.* 786. It is of small moment that such an arrangement results in the postponement of *pariter* in *Adel.* 957 tu es germanus || pariter animo et corpore. Nor is the position of *pariter* after the diaeresis accidental, since in 13 examples it is the initial word in verse or colon, a fact which shows the effect of meter in determining its position in the verse, irrespective of precedence or postponement. Other examples of postponement presenting *pariter* in these positions in the verse are *Mil.* 670 huic pro meritis ut referri || pariter possit gratia, Naev. 123 liberumque obsorbuit | pariter, *Men.* 1083 nam et patrem et patriam commemorant || pariter, quae fuerint sibi (with some accessory feeling of ἀπὸ κοινοῦ), cf. Enn. *tr.* 166 locuntur || pariter atque ignobiles. *Pariter* is postponed at the end of colon and verse *Aul.* 230, *Cist.* 481. The postponement of the adverb in Afr. 2 dispertiantur <ut> patris paritér bona | produces both alliterative effects and the interlocked order (note the position of the adverb in the verse before a dissyllabic word at the end of the verse); cf. Nov. 15 ||páriter<eis> dispertiam for the precedence of *pariter* with the same verb.

[21] Gray ed.[2] *Trin.* v. 197 notes that *iuxta* in Plautus is an adverb equivalent to *aeque*, and is always used with *cum* : iuxta mecum *Aul.* 682, *Mil.* 234 etc., cf. the similar usage with *pariter Asin.* 270, 271. Tyrrell ed.[3] *Mil.* v. 234, Morris ed. *Pseud.* v. 1161, Gray ed. *Asin.* v. 332, Langen *op. cit.* 20-21 speak of the use of such word-groups in comparisons.

[22] pariter: *Amph.* 1019, *Asin.* 15, 270 (twice), 271, *Aul.* 22, 132, *Capt.* 329, *Curc.* 187, *Men.* 752, *Merc.* 882, *Pseud.* 859, 860, *Rud.* 875, *Truc.* 124, *Heaut.* 132, *Eun.* 92, *Phorm.* 786, Afr. 226, Caec. 75, Nov. 15.

In *Curc.* 48 amo paritér simul |, the colloquial group *pariter simul* may be considered as an inseparable word-complex that by its length is best adapted to the end of the verse (cf. *tecum simul* etc., at the end of the verse: *Amph.* 768, *Aul.* 655, *Bacch.* 576 etc.); it must also be remembered that *simul* in its general usage has a favorite habitat at the end of the verse. Gehlhardt *op. cit.* 45 includes *Curc.* 48 in a group of examples where he is uncertain whether one adverb modifies another, or whether the juxtaposed words are in asyndeton. The postponement in *Pseud.* 708 confer gradum | contra pariter preserves intact the composite expression *contra pariter* which however precedes the modified word in *Merc.* 882 contra pariter || fer gradum, again standing at a verse-pause. (See Morris ed. *Pseud.* v. 708 for the close connection in sense of *pariter* with *contra*.)

Tam (Braune *op. cit.* 41-54, Forcellini *op. cit. s.v.*, Kvíčala *Wien. Stud.* [1879] 147) precedes in 278 examples[23] (68 with separation[24]), follows in 1. *Tam* has a strong tendency to form word-groups: tam gratiast 3 (see below p. 70), tam with superlatives 7, tam magis 2, tam etsi 18 (see below p. 70), tamquam 3, tam diu 13 (see Sonnenschein ed.[2] *Most.* v. 302 *crit. n.*), tam cito 7, tam diu and tam cito frequently in tmesis; tam diu stands 6 times at the end of the verse, tam cito 3 times. Apart from its use with *diu* and *cito*,[25] *tam* is frequently used with other iambic words at the end of the verse (see below p. 84).

Tam used as a correlative with *quam* presents the same variety in position as other correlatives already noticed. *Tam-quam* preceding the modified word in contrasted clauses is the most common arrangement, occurring 42 times (see Raspe *op. cit.* 77 for this correlative use); *quam-tam maxume* introducing correlative clauses occurs *Merc.*

[23] tam : for examples in Plautus and Terence, cf. Allardice-Junks and Junks *s.v.*, Enn. 2, Naev. 42, 55, 130, Titin. 80, 156, 157, Afr. 15, 124, 248, 282, 376, Pomp. Bon. 4, 96, Dec. Lab. 24, 133, *Inc. fab.* 69.

[24] *Tam* and *quam* are especially prone to be separated from the modified adjective in Plautus, Terence, Cicero; see Leo *Nach. d. gött. Ges.* (1895) 429 on the separation of *tam* in *Amph.* 728 and *Mil.* 1201; also Menge *op. cit.* 390, Gildersleeve-Lodge *op. cit.* 432 n. on the separability of *tam* and *quam*.

[25] *Diu* at the end of the verse occurs 16 times in Plautus, 5 in Terence. Lodge *op. cit. s.v. citus* II b 264 says, "adverbium cito plerumque in fine versus invenitur (alibi circiter vicies) atque post verbum." The metrical possibilities of such iambic words would draw them, if the need should arise, to the end of the verse, where the modifying adverb of degree sometimes accompanies them.

122, *Adel.* 503, *tamquam* juxtaposed and placed between two clauses at the caesura Afr. 337; the first clause to be supplied *Pers.* 581 (at end of colon), *Phorm.* 65 (at beginning of verse); in *Men.* 1101 the dependent clause by attraction to *tam* breaks the sequence of the principal clause; *tam-quam* placed before two words in contrast occurs *Capt.* 311, 312, 639, *Cas.* 410, 757, *Epid.* 128, *Heaut.* 686, *Eun.* 392.

Closely connected with the preceding use of *tam* as a correlative is its use as an adversative, a significance implying a correlative word (for *tam* with the meaning of *tamen*, see Forcellini *op. cit. s.v.*, Fennell ed. *Stich.* v. 44, Seyffert *Stud. Pl.* 14). This usage might explain the initial position of this adverb in *Bacch.* 1194 (cf. Ussing *ad loc.*), *Merc.* 33, Titin. 157, Cato *Orig.* 4:7. Initial *tam* in the phrase "tam gratiast" (*Men.* 387, *Pseud.* 713, *Stich.* 472)[26] is considered to be the equivalent of *tamen* by Hodgman *op. cit.* 303 and others; see however Brix-Niemeyer ed.[5] *Men.* v. 387, Ribbeck *op. cit.* 28, Braune *op. cit.* 41 ff. for the view of the ellipsis of a correlative *quam* clause in this idiom. With the same adversative significance, *tam* combined with *etsi* has a large number of appearances in the function of introducing a clause,[27] and is invariably separated from its verb; the customary service of *tam etsi* in the initial position has but one exception—*Stich.* 205 eos omnis tametsi, where the pronominal group takes precedence of the adverb.

An exceptional use of *tam* is presented in correlation with the adjective *tantum* in *Stich.* 295 tantum a portu adporto bonum || tam gaudium grande adfero. Here is seen a conscious striving after parallelism in clauses, as Leo suggests (*Nach. d. gött. Ges.* [1895] 429) in which the position of initial *tam* is part of a more extensive plan of anaphoric arrangement for the whole verse; while the paronomasia of the medial words of the first clause is balanced by the corresponding alliteration of the medial words of the second. The artificial triadic order resulting in the second clause—adverb, noun, adjective—is paralleled by the order in *Asin.* 944 tam ingenio duro || nec firmo pectore (where the contrast between the natural and the artificial

[26] Fay's reading of tam deis gratia *Most.* 926 for MSS reading is based on the use of *tam* in this locution.

[27] tam etsi: *Amph.* 21, 977, *Aul.* 768, *Capt.* 321, *Curc.* 258, 504, *Men.* 92, *Pers.* 362, *Poen.* 342, 1201, *Pseud.* 471, *Stich.* 41, 205, *Trin.* 679, *And.* 348, *Eun.* 216, 316, *Phorm.* 428.

order of adverb and the adjective modified is to be noticed). (See below p. 87 for triadic order.)

The one postponement of *tam* occurs in *Bacch.* 669 quid vos maestos tam || tristisque, where *tam* is ἀπὸ κοινοῦ, and, juxtaposed with *tristisque*, produces effective alliteration (Leo *Anal. Pl. de fig. serm.* II 41).

Tantum precedes in 8 examples[28] (3 with separation), follows in 3. The postponements are all probably connected with meter: Nov. 30/31 comest quidquid tetegit tantum |; moreover, the adverb is attracted to a correlative *Pseud.* 1236 si graderere tantum <quantum> || loquere (see Leo *Pl. Forsch.*[2] 311 n. 3 on the correlative group *tantum-quantum* etc.), *Hec.* 417 non verbis dici potest | tantum quam re ipsa (see Becker *op. cit.* 309 for the enclitic nature of *quam*). Without resulting in postponement, a similar juxtaposition of the correlatives *tantum quantum* occurs at a verse-pause *Most.* 527. The group *tantum modo* occurs at the end of the verse *Phorm.* 109, 142.

For the diminutive form *tantillum*, see above p. 22.

Adeo (Lodge *s.v.*, Braune *op. cit.* 23 ff., Sydow *Z. Gebr. v. adeo b. Pl.* [Stettin 1896]) as an adverb of degree precedes in 31 examples[29] (15 with separation), follows in 1. *Adeon(e)* is the initial word in the clause in 12 examples, in the verse in 9. The one postponement occurs *Phorm.* 679 oppórtune ádeo argéntum núnc mecum áttuli, where the position of *adeo* results in a repetition of *tu* in the second arsis of each dipody. It is not impossible that the adverb is enclitically appended to *opportune* (for the enclitic nature of *adeo* see Radford *TAPA* XXXV 36 n.).

In certain other postponements, the interpretation of this word as an adverb of degree is open to question. In Caec. 101 mirum adeo, *Capt.* 824 mírumque adeost, Braune *op. cit.* 35 considers *adeo* as equivalent to *maxume*. In *Amph.* 1134 multo adeo melius, Freeman-Sloman ed.[3] *Trin.* v. 181 translate *adeo* as "very," and Palmer *ad loc.* translates the passage "a great deal better." In *Most.* 280 maxuma adeo pars, Sonnenschein translates *adeo* as "moreover," while Fay makes it equivalent to *vel* in its intensive use with superlatives. In

[28] tantum : for examples in Plautus and Terence, cf. Allardice-Junks and Junks *s.v.*

[29] adeo: *Aul.* 315, *Bacch.* 283, *Cist.* 127, *Epid.* 565, *Merc.* 35, 64, *And.* 120 (twice), 245, 277, 278, 469, 757, 879, *Heaut.* 245, 565, 950, 951, *Eun.* 204, 225, 312, 880, *Phorm.* 497, 499, 1040, *Hec.* 499, 532, 547, 848, *Adel.* 221, Naev. 37. Gray in *Heaut.* 565 makes *adeo* additory, while Braune *loc. cit.* in *Eun.* 204 joins the adverb to the substantive.

Heaut. 109 nulla adeo ex re, Gray takes the word as additory, while Shuckburgh makes it intensify *nulla*.

Ita (Braune *op. cit.* 7-8, 54-60, Hand *op. cit.* III 461 ff.) as an adverb of degree precedes in 32 examples[30] (14 with separation), follows in 4. It is the initial word in clause and verse in 12 examples. Of the 4 postponements, 3 arise from the attraction of *ita* to its correlative *ut*: *Amph.* 844, *Men.* 1038, *Rud.* 216b. In Caec. 103 cruento ita || ore, its postponement at the caesura helps to form the triadic order—adjective, adverb, noun—which has a parallel in *Stich.* 485 (see above p. 63, below p. 87).

[30] ita: *Asin.* 25, *Aul.* 9, *Bacch.* 18, *Curc.* 302, *Epid.* 161, *Men.* 19, *Mil.* 775, 1174, *Pers.* 223, 457, 622, *Poen.* 566, 660, *Pseud.* 882, *Rud.* 256, 730, *Truc.* 254, *And.* 11, 553, *Heaut.* 66, 503, *Eun.* 536, 881, 1018, *Phorm.* 240, 810, 974, *Hec.* 128, 443, *Adel.* 257, Afr. 285, Nov. 63.

CHAPTER VI

THE POSITION IN COMEDY OF ADVERBS OF DEGREE EXPRESSING EXCLAMATION OR INTERROGATION

Quam (Wölfflin *Comp.* 27, Gildersleeve-Lodge *op. cit.* 297, Lindsay *Synt. of Pl.* 105, Gehlhardt *op. cit.* 32 for the enclitic use of *quam*) precedes in 214 examples[1] (46 with separation), follows in 8. *Quam* has a frequent use in a quasi-conjunctional function where it becomes the first word in the clause (see Seyffert *Palaest. Cic.* 30). In 73 examples it is the initial word in both verse and clause; in 7, as the penultimate word, it helps form the added phrase arrangement (see below p. 85): *Asin.* 581 ut[2] adsimulabat—quam facete, *Pseud.* 458, *Stich.* 570, *Vid.* 75, *And.* 136, *Heaut.* 1023, *Eun.* 178. Papillon and Crowell explain *And.* 136 quam familiariter as elliptical for quam potuit familiariter, a view which Freeman-Sloman reject as alien to early usage; they regard such exclamations at the end of the sentence as strengthening the verb.[3]

In 24 examples, *quam* is used with superlatives, with which it is usually juxtaposed, standing 16 times at the beginning or the end of the verse. When tmesis in the phrase occurs with separation by a unit of thought or an enclitic, the modified superlative usually is found at the end or the beginning of verse or colon, but is medial in the verse in *Adel.* 501, Sext. Turp. 56. Quam primum occurs 16 times, quam diu 7, quam mox 20, quam magis (initial in verse) 5, but magis quam (initial in verse) *Bacch.* 1091; quam facile 2, (also in tmesis 3), quam vellem etc. 4.

[1] quam : for examples in Plautus and Terence, cf. Allardice-Junks and Junks *s.v.*, Afr. 1, 59 (three), 60 (two), 87, 100, 251, 257, Naev. 34, Caec. 42, Sext. Turp. 56, 81, 105, 107, Quinct. At.3.

[2] The meaning of *ut* (adverb) is so closely related to that of *quam* that there might be a question as to its exclusion from the category of quantitative adverbs; note however the distinction between these two words made by Elmer ed. *Phorm.* v. 715, "This (ut cautus est) differs from quam cautus est in that ut is an adverb of manner and quam an adverb of degree."

[3] Abbott ed. *Letters of Cicero* 167 quotes *And.* 136 as a parallel to *ad Fam.* 8:15 habeo quam multa, where he does not regard *quam* as exclamatory, but intensive, the phrase being elliptical for tam multa quam habere possum.

The pleonastic *quam* in exclamations is once joined with *ut* at the end of a colon *Amph.* 507 (*ut* Lindsay's emendation); *ut* and *quam* once begin the two colons *Mil.* 400, *quam* is 3 times the penultimate word in the clause *Asin.* 581, *Stich.* 570, *Vid.* 75 (see Gray ed. *Asin.* v. 581 for such pleonastic expressions).

The postponements of *quam* probably result from its enclitic nature.[4] The adverbs *admodum* and *nimis* may be used with *quam* enclitically appended: *Amph.* 541 hic || ádmodum quam saevos est (Papillon ed.[2] *And.* v. 136 speaks of this idiom as an ellipsis for tam admodum quam potuit, see also Palmer ed. *Amph.* v. 541); cf. Gell. 19:9:10 voci admodum quam suavi; *Capt.* 102 nimis quam || cupio (at caesura), *Most.* 511 nimis qúam formido, *Truc.* 468 | nimis quam paucae sunt defessae (*quam* for MS *quae* by Camerarius); also by emendation *Most.* 1142 nimis quam (Camerarius), *Pseud.* 598 nimis quam (Fleckeisen), *Truc.* 507 nimium quam (Bothe); other examples of *quam* appended enclitically to the modified word are: *Merc.* 355 scio saevos quam sit (lyrical verse), *Truc.* 324 mulieres diu quam lavant |, Pl. *fr.* 116 scio axitiosa quam sit | (see below p. 85 for the position in the verse and clause of *quam*); cf. *ad Fam.* 8:1 sane quam, 11:13a valde quam, see Draeger *op. cit.* I 130, also Wölfflin *Comp.* 28, who compares this usage with that of *θαυμαστῶς ὡς* and *θαυμαστὸν ὅσον*; Brix on *Capt.* 102 sees a fusion of two expressions—nimis cupio, quam cupio; cf. also Fay ed. *Most.* v. 511, Abbott ed. *Letters of Cicero* 114 for similar views on such groups. Morris ed. *Capt.* v. 102, Freeman-Sloman ed.[3] *And.* v. 136 speak of *quam* in these phrases as strengthened by an adverb prefixed, in which case *quam* is not postponed. Hallidie translates nimis quam in *Capt.* 102 as "how very" (see Ramsay ed. *Most. Exc. s.v.*), while Roby *Lat. Gr.* ¶ 1649 takes these word-groups as instances of the attraction of each member of the phrase to the adverbial status of the whole expression. Similar constructions are nimium quantum, incredibile quantum (see below p. 75), and nimis paene (see above p. 53).

Perquam (Gehlhardt *op. cit.* 31) in its three occurrences[5] precedes the modified word, once in tmesis *Hec.* 58.

[4] For the enclitic nature of *quam*, see Becker *op. cit.* 309 on *satis-quam Hec.* 645, and *tantum-quam Hec.* 417, "Ceterum non me fugit aliam praeterea interpretandi viam extare, qua hae locutiones cum nescioquid, quid, etc. locutionibus comparentur."

[5] perquam : for examples in Plautus and Terence, cf. Allardice-Junks and Junks *s.v.*

Quamvis (Morris ed. *Trin.* v. 554 for its quasi-conjunctional use) precedes in 9 examples[6] (2 with separation), follows in 2. In 6 examples, it is the initial word in the clause; in 5, the initial word in the verse.

The postponements of *quamvis* appear in the same expression audácter quamvis dícito *Epid.* 16, *Merc.* 726; Gray ed. *Epid. ad loc.* perhaps rightly feels that *tam* is to be supplied before *audacter*, to produce a balance with *quamvis*, considered not as a coalesced adverb but as a clause—*quam vis*, cf. *Truc.* 571 des quantumvis. It is also possible that the postponement may arise from metrical reasons, since the adverb thus secures its favorite position in the verse, *i.e.* initial or following the diaeresis or caesura.

Quasi (Ballentine ed. *Heaut.* v. 145 for its use with numerals to express approximation) precedes in 4 examples;[7] in classical prose, it both precedes and follows numerals and quantitative words: Sall. *B. J.* 50 quasi duum milium, 58 ex medio quasi collis.

Quantum precedes in 51 examples[8] (10 with separation), follows in 2. It has a tendency to form accentual groups at the end of the verse, 16 times with *potest*, where with no deviation it receives the stress on the ultima, forming — — ′ ˘ — ′ (Plautus never has quantum potest within the verse, once quántum possit *Mil.* 182); quantum aúdio *Mil.* 166 (cf. *And.* 423, *Heaut.* 682 within the verse); quantúm libét Quinct. At. 15-6, quantúm queó *Eun.* 844. (This crystalized accentuation of *quantum* with dissyllabic verbs may raise the question as to the customary accentuation of similar groups in prose, cf. *de Sen.* 14:48 quantum sat est.) However, the accentuation of *quantum* changes when longer verbs stand at the end of the verse: *And.* 756, *Eun.* 142, *Phorm.* 53, Pac. *tr.* 185.

The 2 postponements of *quantum*[9] are similar in nature: *Phorm.* 247 incredibile[st] quantum (see Dz.-Hauler ed.[4] *Phorm. ad loc.*, Gildersleeve-Lodge *op. cit.* ¶ 467, 2 n.), *Phorm.* 643 nimium quantum (for the codd. quantum licuit or libuit) which Ashmore ex-

[6] quamvis : for examples in Plautus and Terence, cf. Allardice-Junks and Junks *s.v.*

[7] quasi: *Bacch.* 919, *Capt.* 20, *Most.* 627, *Heaut.* 145.

[8] quantum : for examples in Plautus and Terence, cf. Allardice-Junks and Junks *s.v.*, Naev. 27, Caec. 253, Quinct. At. 15-16.

[9] *Quantumvis* in *Truc.* 571 des quántumvis is in reality a coalesced parenthetical clause, and as such follows the main verb; cf. Catull. 15:12 moveto | quantum vis.

plains as an ellipsis for quantum rogat nimium est; cf. the similar Liv. 2:1 mirum quantum, Hor. *Carm.* 1:27:6 immane quantum. See below p. 89 for further discussion of such usages.

For the diminutive *quantillum*, see above p. 22.

Satin(e) (Sonnenschein ed.[2] *Most.* v. 76, Ramsay ed. *Most.* 112, Bennett *Syntax of Early Latin* [1910] 1470 for lists of passages presenting *satin(e)* in the interrogative use; Schrader *op. cit.* 29 ff. for its use with and without the ictus, Gehlhardt *op. cit.* 25 for the similarity of its initial position to that of *nonne*; Becker *op. cit.* 293 for its use in the group sed satin(e), satin(e) ut; Lindskog *De enunt. ap. Pl. et Ter. condic.* 65 for the groups satin si, satin(e) est, habes si) precedes in 92 examples[10] (57 with separation).

[10] satin(e) : for examples in Plautus and Terence, cf. Allardice-Junks and Junks *s.v.*, Sext. Turp. 87, Caec. 129.

SYNTHESIS

The aim of Part I has been to give an analysis of the varied behavior of the individual adverbs of degree; that of Part II will be to extricate from the details of this analysis some cumulative evidence of the broad principles that affected the position of such words.

The foregoing investigation of individual adverbs has already shown that these words in the majority of occurrences in Cato and Roman comedy are closely attached to the modified words and precede with some uniformity. The following summary will show the ratio of precedences and postponements in comedy for each specific adverb of degree as well as for the quantitative group to which it belongs.

cretic—maxume 31:53, oppido 14:16, total 45:69; 60% postponed, 39 postponements at end of verse or colon.

dactylic—adfatim 5:3, ampliter 0:7, largiter 3:3, funditus 2:2, largitus 0:1, admodum 11:8, maxumum 0:1, plurumum 6:7, paululum 4:4, plusculum 0:3, amplius 8:15, largius 0:1, total 39:55; 58% postponed, of which 16 are with adverbs ending in *ius*, 13 with adverbs ending in *iter* (see above p. 5 n. for the behavior of adverbs in *iter* in Cato); 42 postponements at end of verse or colon.

spondaic—aeque 38:15, large 1:0, longe 5:3, valde 3:1, sane 8:11, ferme 9:5, plane 16:13, prime 2:0, quamvis 9:2; total 91:50; 35% postponed; 7 postponements at end of verse or colon.

trochaic—paene 27:5, usque 9:5, magnum 1:0, multum 23:19, paulum 9:3, prorsus(um) 22:8, quantum 51:2, tantum 8:3, perquam 3:0, total 153:45; 22% postponed; 10 postponements at end of verse or colon.

pyrrhic—quasi 4:1, nimis 140:7, satis 186:43, magis 243:71, minus 96:21, parum 22:13, prope 11:2, modo 16:27, satin 93:0, ita 32:4, total 843:189; 16% postponed; 120 postponements at end of verse or colon.

tribrachic—nimium 58:3, pariter 21:10 (see above for the postponement of other *iter* adverbs), total 79:13, 14% postponed; 3 postponements at end of verse or colon.

molossic—inpense 1:0, adprime 9:0, omnino 10:2 total 20:2, 9% postponed; no postponement at end of verse or colon.

bacchiac—adaeque 4:2.

anapaestic—solide 2:1, minume 30:0, minumo 0:3, nimio 33:0, valide 6:2, adeo 31:1, total 102:7; 6% postponed; no postponement at end of verse or colon.

antibacchiac—praesertim 16:1, insanum 5:0, pauxillum 3:0, quantillum 1:0, tantillum 1:0, plerumque 2:1, total 28:2; 6% postponed; no postponement at end of verse or colon.

monosyllabic—quam 214:8, plus 71:23, sat 79:4, tam 278:1, total 563:32, 5% postponed; no postponement at end of verse or colon.

iambic—fere 9:4; 2 postponements at end of verse.

long words ending in — ˘ ⏑̆, aliquantulum 1:1, pauxillulum 0:1, paenissume 0:3, medullitus 1:1, inpendio 2:1, mediocriter 1:2, total 5:9; 64% postponed; 9 postponements at end of verse or colon.

long words ending in — ⏑̆, aliquantum 4:3, aliquanto 6:1, vehementer 7:6, total 17:10, 37% postponed; 1 postponement at end of colon.

other words—pernimium 1:0, praecipue 1:0, propemodum 12:0.

The following comparison of the above statistics from comedy with the similar ones obtained from Cato will show the relative tendency toward postponement of the different quantitative groups of adverbs of degree in early prose and poetry. Since in some quantitative groups the material in Cato for the adverb of degree alone is insufficient for a profitable comparison, a similar survey including the percent of postponements of all types of adverbs in *Agr. Cult.* is also presented. (See above p. 5.)

	Adverbs of all types in *Agr. Cult.*	Adverbs of degree in Cato	Adverbs of degree in comedy
cretic[1]	42%	53%	60% (58)[2]
dactylic	22	23	58 (76)
spondaic	37	20	35 (13)
trochaic	14	6	22 (22)
pyrrhic	24	4	16 (62)
tribrachic	39	35	14 (13)
molossic	16		9 (0)

[1] This high percent for cretic adverbs in prose is due to the frequent postponement of *maxume* in its particularizing function.

[2] The second set of percents under comedy shows the percent of postponements at end of verse or colon.

antibacchiac	55	3	(0)
bacchiac[3]		33	(50)
anapaestic		6	(0)
monosyllabic	8	5	(0)
words of 4 syllables or more ending in — ˘ ⏑̆	15	64	(100)
words of 4 syllables or more ending in — ⏑̆	41	36	(10)

In comedy, the adverb of degree is postponed in 19% of its occurrences; in 12% in Cato. (See above p. 5.)

By this table of comparison, it would seem that pyrrhic, tribrachic, molossic, antibacchiac, monosyllabic adverbs, and adverbs of four or more syllables ending in — ⏑̆ have a stronger tendency toward postponement in early prose, while cretic, dactylic, trochaic adverbs and adverbs of four or more syllables ending in — ˘ ⏑̆ have a stronger tendency toward postponement in early poetry.

It is of interest to note here that many of the adverbs of degree which grammarians[4] mention as being frequently postponed in classical Latin, as *admodum*, *aliquantum*, *aliquanto*, *ferme*, *longe*, *multum*, *oppido*, *paene*, *plane*, *plurimum*, *prorsus* belong to the quantitative groups having high relative percentages of postponements in early verse *i.e.* cretic, dactylic, spondaic, trochaic, long words ending in — ⏑̆. This fact might go far in explaining the flexibility or freedom in position of these adverbs. *Fere* and *omnino* are also mentioned as not infrequently postponed, but the material for iambic and molossic words in early verse is so scanty that no inferences of value can be made from it.

This percentage of postponements shows that certain factors must have worked to produce a deviation from the normal precedence. These factors in comedy seem to be metrical influence, stylistic influence, attraction toward correlatives and quasi-enclisis. (For the factors in Cato, see above p. 6.)

A) The Influence of Meter

It may easily be observed from a survey of the preceding pages

[3] When no percent is given, either the group is entirely absent or the number of occurrences is so small that the percent would be of no fair value in comparison, as in the case of iambic adverbs.

[4] For such grammatical references, see the analytical treatment of each of the adverbs mentioned above.

that the most common factor in producing the postponement of adverbs in comedy is metrical adaptability or metrical exigency, Such postponements based on quantity appear not only in the verse of the dramatists but occasionally in the prose sentences of Cato—a fact that adds weight to the claim of the influence of meter on the word-order. Especially frequent is the occurrence of the postponed adverb at the end of the verse or colon (see above, p. 77, below p. 81); less frequent is its occurrence at the beginning of the verse or colon and at the caesura. Meter may exert an equal influence on the position of words in other parts of the verse, but little attempt has been made to reckon with any but the most obvious facts. By the well-known laws that govern the last foot in the prevailing verses (iambic trimeter and trochaic septenarus),[5] so strong becomes the demand for iambic and cretic words that the poet resorts to unusual forms[6] and possibly unusual word-order.[7] The quantitative adaptability of dactylic, pyrrhic and cretic adverbs would readily account for their frequent position at the end of such verses (see above p. 77). Likewise spondaic and trochaic adverbs are quantitatively well adapted to the final foot in the iambic septenarius and trochaic octonarius.

a) Quantitative Adaptability of Adverbs to Metrical Pauses.

To test the possibility of connection of postponement of adverbs of degree with their metrical adaptability to various metrical pauses—the beginning and the end of the verse, and the caesura—the following scheme is prepared, based on the quantitative form of the adverbs and including their occurrence both in precedence and postponement.

[5] Luchs *op. cit.* 13, Klotz *op. cit.* 232, Ritschl *op. cit. Prol.* 497.

[6] Noetzel *De archaismis qui ap. vet. Rom. poetas scaen. inveniuntur in fin. aut vers. aut col. in iamb. exeunt.* (Berlin 1908) 1, Ramain *Études sur les groups de mots* (Paris 1904) 202, Dz.-Hauler ed.[4] *Phorm.* v. 13, Brock *op. cit.* 81, Radford *TAPA* XXXVI 165 for unusual forms in this position.

[7] Leo *Nach. d. gött. Ges.* (1895) 417, Nilsson *De colloc. pron. adj. ap. Pl. et Ter.* (Lund 1901) 9, Asmus *De appos. ap. Pl. et Ter. colloc.* (Halle 1891) 26, Seyffert *Berl. Phil. Woch.* (1888) 237, *Bursian's Jahresb.* (1894) 317-8, Radford *AJP* XXV 158 n. 2 for unusual order in this position of the verse.

	At beg. of v. or c.	At end of v. or c.	At caes.
Iambic			
fere	6	5	
Pyrrhic			
ita	13	1(c.)	4
magis	80	56	24
minus	29	30	8
modo		14	6
nimis	79	6	
parum	3	18	
prope	5	1	
quasi			2
satin(e)	62	1(c.)	8
satis	40	35	10
	—	—	—
	321	162	62
Cretic			
maxume	13	49	9
oppido	6	9	2
	—	—	—
	19	58	11
Tribrachic			
nimium	26	4(c.)	2
pariter	13	3	5
	—	—	—
	39	7	7
Molossic			
adprime	1		
inpense			
omnino	1	1(c.)	
	—	—	
	2	1	
Bacchiac			
adaeque	1	1	
Antibacchiac			
insanum	2		
pauxillum			2
Dactylic			
adfatim	3	5	
admodum	5	9	2
ampliter	1	6	
amplius	3	17	
funditus		2	2
largiter		4	1
largius		1	
largitus		1	
maxumum		1	
paulum	1	2	1
plusculum		1	2
plurumum	2	7	3
	—	—	—
	15	56	11
Spondaic			
aeque	6	1(c.)	8
ferme	1	1	4
large		1(c.)	
longe	2	1	1
plane	4	9	4
prime			
quamvis	6		2
sane		2	10
valde	2		2
	—	—	—
	21	15	31
Trochaic			
magnum			
multum	5	12	9
paene	7	3	1
paulum	2	1	1
perquam	2		
prorsus	7	2(c.)	12
quantum	15	1(c.)	4
tantum	3	1	
usque	23	1(c.)	2
	—	—	—
	44	21	29

plerumque	1		1
praesertim	14		3
quantillum			
tantillum			
	—		—
	17		6
Monosyllabic			
plus	19	2(c.)	15
quam	79	2(c.)	21
sat	14		4
tam	63	3(c.)	33
	—	—	—
	175	7	73
Long words ending in — ˘ ˘			
aliquantulum		2	
inpendio		3	
mediocriter	1	2	
medullitus		2	
paenissume		3	
pauxillulum		1	
		13	
Anapaestic			
adeo(ne)	13	2(c.)	5
minumo	1		
minume	15	2	
nimio	21		
solide			
valide			3
	—	—	—
	50	4	8
Long words ending in — ˘			
aliquanto			2
aliquantum	1		2
vehementer	1	2(c.)	3
	—	—	—
	2	2	7
Other long words			
pernimium			
praecipue			
propemodum	4	4	

In summary, it is to be observed that as a rule pyrrhic, spondaic, trochaic, tribrachic and anapaestic adverbs are found more frequently at the beginning of the verse or colon than at the end. On the other hand, cretic, dactylic and long adverbs of cretic or dactylic close are found more frequently at the end. Monosyllabic adverbs occur freely at the beginning of the verse or colon, rarely at the end of the colon, never at the end of the verse. The adverbs which appear rather frequently at the caesural pause are *magis*, *minus*, *satis*, *aeque*, *adeo*, *sane*, *multum*, *prorsus*, *pariter*, *maxume*, *valide*, monosyllables, and adverbs of four syllables ending in — ˘ ˘. Such a survey seems to indicate that postponement of an adverb in the clause might often be a result of its quantitative form and its adaptability to certain metrical conditions of the verse.

b) Adverbs at End of Verse with Deferred Modified Words.[8]

Although in the large majority of cases, the adverb at the end of the verse is in postponement, yet occasionally it occurs in this position

[8] The following list includes the examples containing adverbs in this order: admodum—*Epid.* 104, *Pseud.* 1219, *Trin.* 593; adfatim—Liv. And. 4; aliquantulum

with its modified word deferred to the following verse. In some of these examples of separation by the verse of adverb and modified word, artistic considerations may enter, *i.e.* striving after sound-effects, emphasis, intensity or suspense as in *Epid.* 104, *Men.* 1060, *Pseud.* 1219, *Trin.* 593, *Heaut.* 197, 1036, *Hec.* 160; while in others, there appears little reason for this division save the metrical adaptability of the adverb to the end of the verse (see above pp. 16, 21, 45, 59). See Vahlen *op. cit.* 6 ff, Appuhn *op. cit.* 32 ff. for discussion of two verses bound together by an adverb placed at the end of the first verse; Prescott *op. cit.* 234 ff. for examples of violation of verse-unity for metrical convenience.

c) Phrases Crystallized at the End of the Verse.

The influence of meter is also seen in the order of adverbial expressions and tags found at the end of the verse, as illustrated in the following passages: nequeo mirari satis *Capt.* 799, *Trin.* 1132, *Eun.* 661, *Adel.* 374 (see above p. 33); admodum incerte(o) *Epid.* 505, *Pseud.* 962; admodum adulescentulust *Trin.* 366, *Naev.* 26; minume gentium *Merc.* 419, *Poen.* 690, *Eun.* 625, *Phorm.* 1033, *Adel.* 342; adprime nobilis(em) *Cist.* 125, *Eun.* 952; adprime probus (etc.) *Rud.* 735, *Trin.* 373, *Naev.* 1; plus tecum loquar *Pseud.* 377, amplius tecum loquar *Truc.* 871; paene in foveam decidi *Pers.* 594, paene in cursu concidi *Epid.* 200; pro(r)sum perit *Curc.* 681, *Trin.* 1130; satis recte mones(ent) *Pers.* 603, *Rud.* 829; tam gratiast *Men.* 387, *Pseud.* 713. The use of quantúm potest (see above p. 75), haud vidi magis, videatur magis (see above p. 62), the Terentian causa maxume and the related causa magis (see above p. 46) at the end of the verse and colon has already been noted; the quantitative values of the adverbs involved would go far in accounting for their use in these tags in this position. We have already noted the variety in the order of the partitive genitive used with *largiter*, *adfatim*, *satis* when these adverbs stand at the end of the verse (see above pp. 27, 28, 32). Possibly in many of the above phrases found in this position, the arrangement

Heaut. 163; fere—*And.* 813, *Heaut.* 122, *Phorm.* 363; inpendio—Afr. 351; magis—*Amph.* 378, *Bacch.* 557, *Men.* 1060, *Most.* 1008, *Pseud.* 220 (see above p. 59), *Heaut.* 197, 1036; maxume— *Cas.* 449, *Vid.* 70, *Heaut.* 788, *Hec.* 160 (see above p. 45), *Adel.* 340, 501, as well as the colloquial phrase in *Curc.* 427; minus—*Amph.* 76, *Rud.* 1020, *Phorm.* 597, *Adel.* 800; modo—*Adel.* 507; parum—*Pers.* 856, *Truc.* 893, propemodum—*Heaut.* 1064, *Eun.* 203, *Adel.* 131; satis—*Pseud.* 190; also largiter— *Truc.* 903 (according to punctuation of Lindsay).

of words was first chosen because the order was metrically desirable; however once used with pleasurable effect, the poet employed them later not only because of metrical adaptability, but because he had formed the psychological habit (see Prescott *op. cit.* 239 n. 71 for further notice of mental habit as a factor in the stereotyped position of certain words in the verse).

d) Bracketed Verses.[9]

In the discussion of adverbs postponed at the end of the verse, mention has been made of the bracketed verse (see above pp. 16, 18). In comedy, such verses containing the adverb of degree are of three types: a) the adverb at the beginning of the verse modifies the word at the end of the verse—*Aul.* 670, *Bacch.* 164, etc.; this type does not properly concern our study at this point; b) the adverb at the end of the verse modifies the word at the beginning of the verse—*Bacch.* 500, *Most.* 136, *Trin.* 665, *Heaut.* 440 and according to Brix (on *Trin.* 665) *Mil.* 1348; c) the adverb at the end of the verse is modified by the adverb at the beginning of the verse *Asin.* 629 (see above p. 38). In most of such examples, the clause as well as the verse is bracketed.

e) Adverbs as Penultimate Words in Verse.

Another favorite position of the adverb has already been noted in the analytic treatment of several adverbs, *i.e.* before a dissyllabic word or with elision before a trisyllabic word that stands at the end of the verse. In this position, words of almost all quantitative types may be found, although cretic and dactylic words are infrequent. *Oppido* occurs once (by elision), *plurumum* 2 times (see above p. 20), *magis* 11, *minus* 4, *satis* 8, *nimis* 3, *aeque* 11 (see above p. 66), *plane* 4, *longe* 3, *sane* 10, *plusquam* 4, *magisquam* 3, *multum* 4, *nimium* 7, *quantum* 24 (see above p. 75), *pariter* 4, *minume* 4, *omnino* 5, *aliquanto* 3, *aliquantum* 3, *vehementer* 8, *adprime* 4 (see above p. 38), *tam* 22 (see above p. 69), *plus* 14, *quam* 10, *sat* 10, other adverbs with less frequency.

In a few passages, such dissyllabic words at the end of the verse are iambic enclitics—*Bacch.* 350, *And.* 447 (see above p. 7), *Adel.* 684 (see above p. 24).[10] Enclitics may also be monosyllabic—*Truc.* 63a, Pl. *fr.* 116, also at colon *Capt.* 623; joined to the adverb by elision —*Amph.* 132, *Bacch.* 501, *Capt.* 284, *Cist.* 231, 331, *Mil.* 980, *Most.* 236 *Trin.* 1185, 1186.

However, it must be observed that not only at the end of the verse or colon, but also within the verse are adverbs used as penultimate words in the clause followed by an enclitic verb; at the caesura—*Capt.* 188, *Poen.* 113, Pl. *fr.* 13, *Eun.* 414, *Adel.* 774; at other positions in the verse—*Bacch.* 992 grandes || satis sunt (see below p. 86 under chiasmus), *Bacch.* 1125 attonsae—usque sunt (lyrical, see above p. 42), *Capt.* 824 mirumque adeost, *Men.* 622 tristis admodumst (see above p. 17), *Mil.* 1101 tempus || maxume esse, *Most.* 247 acceptum sat habes (see above p. 36 n. for enclisis of *habes*), *Poen.* 461 contentiores || mage erunt, *Hec.* 594 perfuncta || satis sum; for similar order, cf. *Mil.* 927 ludificata lepide | ero. The prose of Cato has already shown examples of like sentence-order (see above p. 3 n.); cf. Cic. *ad Att.* 9:1 acta timide est. See Schneider *op. cit.* 67 for discussion of enclitic verbs at the end of the clause; Raspe *op. cit.* 9 ff. says that apparently at times the second position of emphasis in a sentence rests on the penultimate word and that in such a case, the secondary emphasis is decidedly weakened. However, since in the above passages, the final word is an unemphatic enclitic, the observation of Raspe would not necessarily confer on the adverb a weakened secondary emphasis, for the adverb may be regarded as the final word with an enclitic appendage; while in this order of the adverb in the clause, the poet appears to be governed more by the conditions of the verse than by motives of emphasis.

f) Added Phrases at the End of Verse and Clause.

In a few instances, a penultimate adverb with the ultimate word in the verse and clause forms what may be called an "added phrase," which usually consists of a phrase of two words at the end of the verse somewhat in the nature of an afterthought, frequently as an append-

[9] For the bracketed verse in Plautus, see Boldt *op. cit.* 57, Nilsson *op. cit.* 9, Brix ed.[5] *Trin.* v. 665, Norden *Aen.* VI p. 382. With this order in verse, cf. Xen. *Anab.* 1:5 πολὺ γὰρ τῶν ἵππων ἔτρεχον θᾶττον, which suggests that possibly the bracketed verse and clause is not based exclusively on metrical exigency.

[10] The enclitic forms *mihi*, *tibi*, *sibi* appear not infrequently at the end of the verse. (Lindsay ed. *Capt.* 262 *App.* asserts that we rarely find an iambic word in this position in the verse to be an important word in the clause.) It is a recognized metrical fact that enclitic words form a composite phrase with the preceding word, especially if this word end in a pyrrhic, trochee or tribrach (see Lindsay *L.L.* 167, Radford *TAPA* XXXI 87 etc.); hence in the above passages *Bacch.* 350, *And.* 447, *Adel.* 684, the adverbs *omnino*, *aliquantum*, *nimium* virtually become the final words in the verse.

age to a sentence whose grammatical structure is already completed. Such groups are generally introduced by *atque*, *neque*, *quam* in exclamations (see above p. 73). The following examples illustrate the type: *Curc.* 333 respondit mihi paucis verbis atque adeo fideliter, *Mil.* 872 quam digne ornata incedit, haud meretricie, *Stich.* 570 ut apologum fecit quam fabre, *Eun.* 935 nec magis compositum quicquam nec magis elegans. In Cato, we find *Agr. Cult.* 48:2 porcam planam facito, paulum concavam.

B) The Influence of Style

As cooperating factors in the postponement of adverbs, are the various figures of style. In many of the following examples, both meter and style seem to influence the word-order.

a) Chiasmus.

Amph. 521 nequiter paene expedivit prima parasitatio (see above p. 52), *Aul.* 420 de industria amplius || male plus lubens faxim, *Aul.* 596 qui laborent minus facilius || ut nent, *Bacch.* 678 accuses || magis si magis noveris, *Bacch.* 992 satis videat, grandes satis || sunt, (the influence of meter also being seen in the position of *satis*), *Cas.* 805 plus || propero, procedit minus | (with metrical influence), *Epid.* 485 stulte datum | reor, peccatum largiter || (with metrical influence), *Men.* 572 maxume more moro molestoque multum (reading of P), *Mil.* 660 magis qui amicus amico sit magis | (with metrical influence), *Poen.* 214-5 satis—ornantur |—ornandi satis satietas (also see below p. 87 under figura etymologica), *Heaut.* 668 fallit multum, haud multum a || me aberit, *Hec.* 730 quid faciam plus, quod post || me minus fecisse, *Adel.* 993 minus videtis, magis inpense || cupitis, consultis parum | (with metrical influence). Quasi-chiasmus, wherein the adverb is balanced by noun or numeral, is seen *Hec.* 268, Caec. 127; likewise a prefix joined to a verb or adjective, initial in the verse and clause, may possibly balance an adverb at the end of the verse which is appended as a restrictive suffix to the modified word: *Merc.* 640 subnigris[11] oculis—pansam aliquantulum, Afr. 320 perfalsum—creditum nimis, *Trin.* 665 pernovi—ingenuom admodum (by construing adverb with *ingenuom*, however see above p. 17).

[11] The prefix *per* is not uncommon as the initial syllable in a trochaic verse—*Amph.* 831, *Asin.* 322, *Epid.* 652, *Pers.* 542, 555, *Vid.* 61 etc.; likewise *sub*—*Asin.* 185, 885, *Rud.* 423, 749, etc. This tendency may invite the position of *subnigris*, *perfalsum*, *pernovi* at the beginning of the verse.

b) Balance.

Aul. 239 morata recte veniat, dotatast satis |, *Mil.* 1293, *Poen.* 461 (see above p. 63), *Trin.* 169; with postponed adverbs in balance with words at end of colon or another verse: *Capt.* 640, *Merc.* 640, *Trin.* 319.

c) Figura Etymologica (see above p. 42 n.)

Poen. 215 ornandi satis satietas est (see above p. 86 under chiasmus), *Hec.* 594 perfuncta || satis sum, satias iam tenet (see above pp. 35, 85), *Poen.* 579 callum aprugnum || callere aeque, *Pseud.* 324 ex laeto laetantem magis |, *And.* 964 scio mea solide solum || gavisurum gaudia (see below p. 88 under interlocked order).

d) Litotes

Amph. 521 nequiter paene expedivit (see above p. 86 under chiasmus).

e) ἀπὸ κοινοῦ.

Bacch. 669 maestos tam || tristisque esse (see above p. 71), *Epid.* 579 aliter catuli || longe olent, aliter suis, *Men.* 1083 patriam et patrem commemorant || pariter qui fuerint sibi, *Mil.* 776 fuisse aeque neque futurum (also with assonance), *Poen.* 246 insulsae admodum atque invenustae (lyrical, emendation of Merula), *Trin.* 748 utibile || magis atque in rem, *Eun.* 1082 melius || prorsus neque prolixius.

f) Triadic Order.

In the study of word-order in Roman comedy, a group of examples appears in which there seems to be a definite or conscious plan of arrangement of words in groups of three. Only a few of these properly fall in this study. In such groups, the adverb of degree may be the first, second or third member in the triad.[12] a) The adverb as the first term, the modified word as the third term.[13] b) The adverb as the medial term following the modified word: *Stich.* 485 apertiore || magis via (see above p. 63), Caec. 103 cruento ita || ore; the

[12] For further discussion of triadic groups, see Lilienthal *op. cit.* 9, Zumpt *Lat. Gr.* 793, Lindhamer *Wortstell. in Griechischen* (Munich 1908) 44, Kühner *Grk. Gr.*[3] II 604; Boldt *op. cit.* 6 for succession of words "ponderosa et leviora"; Schneider *op. cit.* 16 for the enclisis of medial verbs.

[13] An interesting group of adverbial triads shows the preposition as the medial term: *Mil.* 741 tám in amici, *Mil.* 901 tám pro nota, *Adel.* 274 tam ob párvolam, *Rud.* 1147 tám in angustum, *Heaut.* 955 tám in brevi, *Hec.* 310 quám pro levibus; see Kühner *Lat. Gr.*[2] II 247, 3b, Stolz-Schmalz *op. cit.* 649, Gildersleeve-Lodge *op. cit.* 432, Madvig ed. *de Fin.* 651, Ussing ed. *Mil.* v. 741. Cf. Xen. *Anab.* 1:5 μάλα κατὰ πρανοῦς γηλόφου (where Kelsey ed.[3] *Anab. ad loc.* explains the unusual order by emphasis), Plat. *Apol.*

adverb precedes the modified word *Heaut.* 122, *Hec.* 143. c) The adverb as the third term, the medial term being either a noun or a verb, the first term being the modified word: *Asin.* 236 alium admittat || prorsus, *Epid.* 579 aliter catuli || longe olent (also see above p. 87 under ἀπὸ κοινοῦ), *Rud.* 903 fluctuare video ||vehementer mare (the adverb being followed by a dissyllabic word at the end of the verse); also with adverbs at end of verse or colon *Bacch.* 677, *Mil.* 788, *Rud.* 207, *Heaut.* 924. The influence of meter on word-order may also be seen in the above examples.

g) Interlocked Order.

Boldt *op. cit.* 56 for this artificial arrangement; Klotz *op. cit.* 316 on *Bacch.* 950 attributes the interlocked order to meter; but Leo *Nach. d. gött. Ges.* (1895) 417 refuses to grant meter as a motive for such departures from normal order, explaining them as an early stylistic development. *Men.* 524 Menaechme, amare ait te || multum Erotium (see above p. 13), *Mil.* 768 qui admutiletur miles usque || caesariatus, *Most.* 165 parietes || periere haec oppido aedes (see above p. 19), *Pers.* 559 urbs moenita || muro sat erit simplici, *And.* 964 hunc scio mea solide solum || gavisurum gaudia (also see above p. 87 under figura etymologica), Afr. 2 dispertiantur ut patris pariter bona.

C) ATTRACTION TOWARD CORRELATIVES

Several adverbs containing a comparative idea often follow the modified word to gain a closer juxtaposition with the correlative words, as *magisquam, minusquam, plusquam, tamquam, tantumquam, tantum quantum, adaeque ut, aeque atque, pariter ut, ita ut.* Such usages have already been described in detail under the analytical treatment of the individual adverbs, where illustrative passages may be found. It is possible that metrical influence may be felt in the variety of their arrangement in the clause and verse, since the groups often occur at metrical pauses; *e.g. magisquam* juxtaposed occurs 24 times, 14 times placed at the beginning of a colon; *minusquam* is once divided by the verse, once by the diaeresis; *plusquam* is the penultimate word-group in clause and verse followed by a dissyllabic word or phrase 3 times; 5 times it stands at the beginning of verse or colon, once is divided by the diaeresis, once stands at the caesura; *pariter ut* stands once at the beginning of the colon, *pariter simul* once at the end of the colon; *tamquam* 3 times at metrical pauses, *tametsi* in 11 out of 18 occurrences at metrical pauses.

Showing the outgrowth of the habit of postponement of a comparative adverb to gain juxtaposition with a correlative word, we have a small body of examples where the postponement may be due to "inferred comparison," although in many of these examples metrical or stylistic motives also appear: *adaeque Cas.* 857 (lyrical), *aeque Asin.* 493 (see above p. 84 for the penultimate position of *aeque* in colon), *Poen.* 579 (see above p. 87 for figura etymologica as an accessory factor), *Stich.* 217 (*aeque* at a metrical pause); *magis Cas.* 225 (see above p. 62), *Pseud.* 873 (*magis* reading of Lindsay), *Hec.* 617 (at caesura), *Eun.* 414 (at caesura), *Eun.* 436 (at caesura); *plus Mil.* 587, *Heaut.* 220 (see above p. 66).

D) QUASI-ENCLISIS

We have already noticed the tendency in a few adverbs to append themselves enclitically to the words they modify: *adeo—Phorm.* 679, Caec. 101-2 (possibly additory), see above p. 71; *quam—Amph.* 541, *Capt.* 102, *Merc.* 355, *Truc.* 324, 468, Pl. *fr.* 116, see above p. 74; *quantum—Phorm.* 247, 643, see above p. 75; *paene—Pers.* 114, *Rud.* 1204, cf. Pac. *tr.* 260, see above p. 53; similarly *ut* (manner)—*Poen.* 284, *Pseud.* 683 etc. For the explanations given by various commentators of the above constructions, see above under the analytic treatment of the individual adverbs.

Sane used with imperatives, *modo* used restrictively, *maxume* used in a particularizing function very frequently follow the stressed word; however, the propriety of the inclusion of these words as adverbs of degree is questionable.

Thus the preceding investigations show that the large majority of adverbs of degree precede the modified word; when they follow, their postponement can usually be explained on some definite basis as metrical convenience, stylistic device, correlative attraction or quasi-enclisis. In many examples, assonance and alliteration as attendant features may be noticed.

25 οὕτω παῤ ὀλίγον, 35 πάνυ ἐπὶ σμικροῖς (see Stallbaum's ed. *Apol.* 31 n. for an extensive list of such passages; Dyer ed. *Apol.* 25, Riddell ed. *Apol. Digest of Idioms* 240 for further discussion of this usage). There is also a limited category in Greek in which the preposition is followed by superlative forms, see Matth. *Grk. Gr.* ¶ 461 c.

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